The Social Contract

Vol. IX, No. 4 Summer 1999

Population Growth and Resource Depletion

Highlights

Is 'sustainable growth' an illusion, is 'smart growth' possible, or just a postponement of the inevitable? Commentary by:

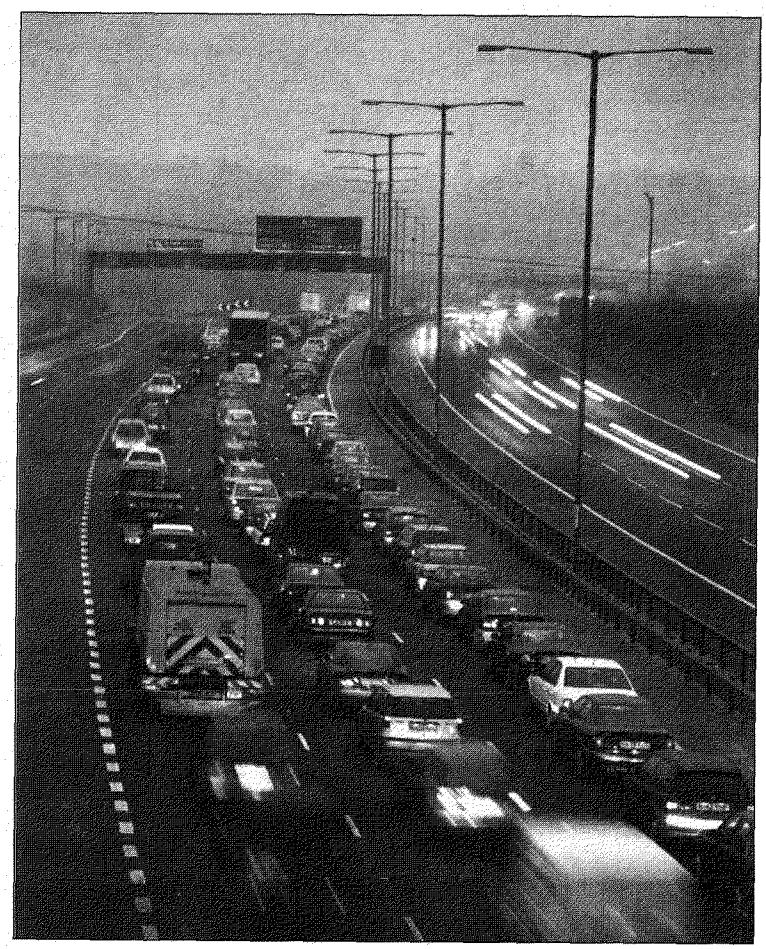
John Cairns, Jr.
Diana Hull
Albert A. Bartlett
B. Meredith Burke
M. Boyd Wilcox
William B. Dickinson
John F. Rohe

What shall we think about Mexican Americans being given dual citizenship or being allowed to vote in Mexico's elections?

William Buchanan exposes amnesty for the sham that it is.

Perry Lorenz challenges the *Wall Street Journal's* advocacy for open borders with an editorial writer.

Six books and a new video are reviewed including *Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future* by Peter Schrag.



Ethnicity still matters a great deal in the Balkans and other parts of the world.
See p. 236 ff

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About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, The Social Contract journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution.* Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?
- *Immigration issues.* In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations.* What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities.* Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts.* What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?

The Social Contract explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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The Devil Knows Latin

Why America Needs the Classical Tradition

by E. Christian Kopff

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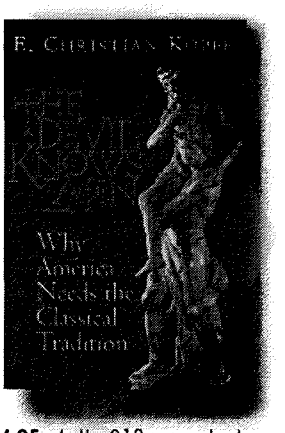
—**Theodore Pappas,** Executive Editor, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*



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A Note from the Editor

Mae West is credited with having observed that "too much of a good thing is wonderful." We can all imagine some of the wonderful things she had in mind. But when it comes to finite resources, too many consumers can, if their appetites are left unchecked, lead to diminishing returns, exhaustion of resources, poverty, and even extinction.

The United States fought World War II with a population of about 130 million. Since then, our population has more than doubled and is estimated to number 270 million. Native-born Americans reached a condition of essentially zero population growth two decades ago. The current increase in U.S. population is largely a consequence of ongoing mass immigration.

As voracious consumers of resources such as water and land, it should be clear that the ratio of resources to people is declining. At some date, if our population continues to grow, we will hit a critical point, after which our quality of life will decline. Many parts of the continental U.S. already experience water "shortages" — the situation is never attributed to too many people.

Forecasting the time when more serious and widespread "shortages" may occur is not an exact science. This has led some commentators to talk about the concept of "sustainable growth." This is a sort of economic perpetual motion machine. How much growth is sustainable? How can we possibly sustain growth forever?

Optimism has always outsold pessimism. But we have to acknowledge that there is no reason to believe that salvation will arrive in the nick of time in the guise of a future technological fix, thus preventing many parts of America from resembling Mexico City or Calcutta. Calling a halt to further immigration can head us in the direction of population stability — the first step toward managing resource depletion.

* * *

U.S. intervention in the Balkans has not ended "ethnic cleansing" in Serbia's Kosovo province. As we go to press, it is the last of the Serbs who are being "cleansed." As *USA Today* for July 1, 1999, reports, "Many of the figures used by the Clinton Administration and NATO to describe the wartime plight of Albanians in Kosovo now appear greatly exaggerated as allied forces take control of the province." It is noteworthy that George Soros, the international currency speculator, apparently has been a major sponsor of the pro-Albanian PR campaign. As many readers are aware, the Soros Foundation is also a major supporter of open borders and mass immigration.

Columnist Don Feder has been touring the Balkans since the bombing campaign ended. Concerning Albania, Feder wrote in his July 13 column,

> *Albania has no government. It is run by crime syndicates. The country is a base for drug-running and arms smuggling. NATO is duplicating that in Kosovo.*

An Associated Press interview with Albanian Muslim refugees in their temporary housing at Fort Dix, New Jersey, revealed that few, if any, had any intention of going home. What with various government subsidies, free housing, free medical care, extensive educational services, and the prospect of American citizenship — along with the opportunity to bring over the rest of their extended families through chain migration — why should they ever leave?

John Gray of the London School of Economics despairs over what he sees as America's "hubristic disregard of history." In his book *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism* professor Gray observes,

> *Resurgent religions, ancient ethnic enmities and territorial rivalries, the use of new technologies for purposes of war rather than wealth-creation do not accord well with Enlightenment expectations of secularization and the propagation of peace through trade.... The re-emergence of ethnicity, territory, and religion as deciding forces in war and politics makes a mockery of any diplomacy which rests on Enlightenment ideas of homo economicus and a universal civilization.*

In his 1996 book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order,* Samuel Huntington outlined how the fault lines between civilizations are the greatest threat to world peace. The Balkan quagmire is just one of the arenas where this struggle is taking place. For the West to intervene on the side of militant Islam is a grave about-face — and one many of us are bound to regret.

WAYNE LUTTON, Ph.D., Editor

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The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. Our address is: **www.tscpress.com**.

Our home page gives our mission statement, information about THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, editorials from several immediately previous issues which highlight the contents of each, and a list of books for sale.

Here are some other sites that readers may be interested in exploring. By listing them here The Social Contract does not imply an endorsement of all the material on any specific site.

- English Language Advocates is a national organization working to make English the official language of government: <elausa.org>
- Information about Affirmative Action for Immigrants is shared by Jim Robb at <pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb>
- Carrying Capacity Network has a new website at <carryingcapacity.org>
- Negative Population Growth has a new website at: <www.npg.org>
- Philip Martin publishes *Migration News* and can be reached at <migration.ucdavis.edu>.
- Professor Norman Matloff has many articles and a great deal of data at:<heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.
- Joseph Daleiden heads the Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration. His web site is: <enteract.com/~mcri97>.
- The Sierra Club is at <sierraclub.net>.
- *People and Place* is a journal published by the Centre for Population and Urban Research at Monash University in Australia. They can be reached at <swin.edu.au/sbs/pub/pnp>.
- <canadafirst.net> includes much information and thoughtful views from the Canadian Immigration Reform Committee.
- Glenn Spencer leads Voices of Citizens Together at: <americanpatrol.com>.
- <cofcc.org> reaches the Council of Conservative Citizens.
- Columnist Samuel Francis now maintains a website at <www.samfrancis.net>.
- The Biocentric Institute website is prepared by Bill Dickinson at <ultralink/net/IAPM>
- GRIP — Georgians for Responsible Immigration Policy: http://micromgt.home.mindspring.com/grip/.
- Aliens in IOWA! <fyiowa.com/aliens/alien005.htm>
- PEG is the Political Ecology Group, founders of the "Immigration and Environment Campaign" — a pro-open borders initiative: <igc.org/peg>
- *Mankind Quarterly, The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* — articles and reviews including population, immigration and public policy: <mankind.org>.
- The Aztlan Organization is at <aztlan.org>.
- <fedpub.com/immigration> brings up Federal Publications, Inc. which has a sub-heading for developments in immigration law.
- The American Immigration Lawyers Association is at <aila.org/home.htm>.
- <lrainc.com/swtaboo/> is based on Garrett Hardin's idea of "stalking the wild taboo."
- "Immigration by the Numbers" is Roy Beck's site at <numbersusa.com>.
- <amren.com> reaches American Renaissance.
- *Politically Incorrect — An On-line Magazine* is at <cyad.com/cvgibin/pinc/july97/index.html>

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- <fair@fairus.org> The Federation for American Immigration Reform
- <center@cis.org> Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)
- <npg@npg.org> Negative Population Growth
- <ccn@igc.apc.org> Carrying Capacity Network (CCN)
- <caps@calweb.com> Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)
- European American News can be reached at <ootrov@hotmail.com>.
- And, of course, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's e-mail address is <soccon@freeway.net>. TSC

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Letters to the Editor

EDITOR:

The contents of the Spring 1999 issue of *The Social Contract* are excellent and have opened my eyes to so many things I never knew but should have known. For example, C. P. Snow was only a name to me, but what wonderful ideas have evolved in this issue from his "Two Cultures" essay.

Sincerely,
GEORGE E. IMMERWAHR
Kenmore, Washington

[*Editor's Note: George Immerwahr has been involved in demographic research at the University of Washington. His newest book,* World Population Growth, *is available through the Social Contract Press, 1-800-352-4843.*]

EDITOR:

Jonette Christian's "A Liberal's Re-thinking — Speech Before a Maine Unitarian Congregation" (*The Social Contract*, Fall, 1998) is an excellent, gratifyingly brief and well-written summary of the arguments for halting American population growth and, to that end, reforming American immigration policies.

But I am concerned about two aspects of this essay. The first (and less important) is her apparent animosity toward political liberals. Ms Christian might well have a problem with her own "liberal" parents, but why must she subject her listeners/readers to such an irrelevancy as this: "...I learned from [the example of] my own parents, in some situations there is nothing more sanctimonious nor close-minded than a devout liberal who is convinced of the moral authority of his own opinion"? (One wonders what she might say about non-liberals after listening to the recent impeachment hearings.) To be sure, as she notes in this context, many liberals supported President Johnson on the Vietnam War. Yet, as one of many who opposed Johnson on that issue right from the start, I must remind Ms Christian that any analysis of Congressional voting records, public opinion polls and the like will show that the earliest, most enthusiastic, and most persistent support for America's shameful actions in Vietnam came from the opposite end of the political spectrum.

But the more important of my two concerns about the essay is its implication that views on population and, specifically, immigration can be categorized along some liberal/conservative, left/right continuum. Perhaps more than any other political issue now before us, this population/immigration issue makes for strange bedfellows. It does so in the United States and, in my judgment based on 23 years' residence there, also in the world's major per capita immigration country — Australia.

The line-ups take much the same form in both countries. The pro-immigrationists consist, essentially, of: (a) members of ethnic groups who want more of their kind, (b) businessmen who want more tractable, non-unionized, harder-working (preferably with less pay) workers, as well as workers trained elsewhere at someone else's expense, (c) economists who value only what can be measured by narrow economic indicators, have an abiding faith in The Market to right all imbalances and scarcities, and see population increase as essentially an addition to the potential workforce, and (d) kind-hearted people who, while of the opinion that rich countries should help alleviate poverty elsewhere in the world, lack any real understanding of geometric growth rates and demographic momentum, and have little knowledge either of ecological or social limits or of ways to alleviate poverty by other than moving people out of one country and into another. In Australia, there is a fifth component, mostly consisting of "intellectuals" who, mindful of the history of the infamous "white Australia" policy, are terrified of being branded racist. In the United States, a fifth component consists mostly of Jews who — quite understandably — remember what befell their kinsmen and co-religionists who did not emigrate from Europe during the Nazi period.

The "anti"-immigrationists, on the other hand, consist, essentially, of (a) various racists and xenophobes, (b) workers who see immigrants as economic competitors and "rate-busters," (c) people who put a particularly high (perhaps unrealistically

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high) value on social cohesiveness and stability, (d) "greenies" who see population increase (from whatever source) as threatening the natural environment and the related ways of life they value, and (e) scientists, particularly in biology and ecology, who are aware of limits and how these are being massively pushed against by accelerating increases in population and consumption the world over.

These are not mutually exclusive categories, either within the "pro-" or the "anti-" camp. It's conceivable that one could even be a part of both camps. What position one occupies along the immigration policy continuum will depend on the relative weights one assigns each of his or her interests.

Sincerely,
LINCOLN DAY
Washington, D.C.

[*Editor's note: Lincoln Day is the co-author, with Alice Taylor Day, of* Too Many Americans *(Houghton-Mifflin, 1964); and author of* The Future of Low-Birthrate Populations *(Routledge, 1992). We invited Jonette Christian to respond...*]

EDITOR:

Thank you for sharing the letters you received concerning my piece, "A Liberal's Re-thinking." I would like to make a few comments in response to Mr. Day's letter.

When I made this speech in my Unitarian church a year ago, I felt I needed to say something that might challenge the "brick wall" that I kept running into when I tried to talk to liberals about immigration. This was not a speech for a general audience. It was an in-house conversation in which I hoped to provoke my fellow liberals to examine their own views. The people who came were very responsive. At some points there was laughter and "Amen." But only a small number of people came to this talk, despite the fact that I had enlisted the minister, and from the pulpit she had invited people to attend. Not one member of the church who had not attended the talk requested a copy of the tape when it was offered, or asked me questions about the subject. The minister told me that five members came to her and voiced the opinion that this talk should not be allowed to happen in our church, but she courageously stood by me.

My family have been Unitarians for three generations. I have never heard of any subject which aroused a request to censor a speech in a Unitarian church. Unitarians ordinarily consider themselves great champions of free speech, and sermons about respecting diversity are standard fare. This was a church in which Fundamentalists were often criticized for their doctrinaire ideology, and I was growing increasingly irritated with the hypocrisy of my own people.

Why are political and religious liberals so resistant to this subject? They are blinded by the moral beauty [they exhibit] extending this breathtaking generosity to the Third World. And that is how they remain oblivious to everyone else, and justify their continued ignorance of this subject. Neither compassion for their own grandchildren nor rationality have influenced them at this point. I was hoping to find words to pierce that smug facade.

If this essay is to be used further, however, I would like to remove those passages which sound like liberal-bashing. It was originally written as an in-house conversation, and we speak more bluntly with our families in private than we do in public. Liberals and Unitarians are my people, and I must continue to find a way to reach them.

Sincerely.
JONETTE CHRISTIAN
Holden, Maine

Respecting the Fault Lines Between Civilizations

"The principal responsibility of Western leaders is not to attempt to reshape other civilizations in the image of the West, which is beyond their declining power, but to preserve, protect and renew the unique qualities of Western civilization."

— Samuel P. Huntington in
The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order
Simon & Schuster

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An Epic Struggle

Sustainability and the emergence of a new social contract

by John Cairns, Jr.

Abstract

Human society is addicted to growth on a finite planet. As is often the case for psychological dependence, contrary evidence is ignored and wishes are confused with reality. When Malthus noted that exponential growth of the human population was a major problem, he was ridiculed and scorned -- a practice that has continued for two centuries. Those who believe in infinite substitutability of resources show no concern for the concept of sustainable use of the planet. This assertion has been termed *exemptionalism,* which holds that human ingenuity and technology provide continuing opportunity for economic growth and solutions for limits to growth; that economic activities create more than they destroy; and that the history of the world refutes claims of limits to growth, carrying capacity, and other assumptions of dependence on organic, natural systems. The opposing view, *environmentalism,* asserts that *Homo sapiens* is basically just another biological species that is tightly controlled by biophysical laws, despite its unique ability to modify natural systems more than any other species. Others believe that sustainability can be achieved by relatively modest changes in the present system. None of these groups has paid sufficient attention to the consequences of exponential growth of' either human population or affluence. If human society continues on the present path — as many advocate — and this direction turns out to be wrong, cataclysmic events are highly probable. This scenario justifies the application of the term *epic,* since the transition will be traumatic rather than comfortable. The widespread expectation of economic growth rates of no less than 7 percent annually for some countries and no less than 10 percent for some industries simply cannot continue in a finite world. Some contrasting illustrative choices are provided here as a preliminary effort toward the development of a new social contract on the relationship of human society and natural systems.

John Cairns, Jr. *is University Distinguished Professor of Environmental Biology Emeritus in the Department of Biology at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA.*

The more optimistic the prediction the greater is the probability that it is based on faulty arithmetic or on no arithmetic at all.

—Bartlett (1994)

Bartlett (1997-98) is arguably the most outspoken critic of the loose, imprecise use of the term *sustainability:*

> *And so we have a spectrum of uses of the term "sustainable." At one end of the spectrum, the term is used with precision by people who are introducing new concepts as a consequence of thinking profoundly about the long-term future of the human race. In the middle of the spectrum, the term is simply added as a modifier to the names and titles of very beneficial studies in efficiency, etc. that have been in progress for years. Near the other end of the spectrum, the term is used as a placebo. In some cases the term may be used mindlessly (or possibly with the intent to deceive) in order to try to shed a favorable light on continuing activities that may or may not be capable of continuing for long periods of time. At the very far end of the spectrum, we see the term used in a way that is oxymoronic* (p.7).

Development is customarily associated with growth. Sustainable development implies to many that minor adjustments in societal behavior are all that is

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needed to permit indefinite increases in the use of the planet. The tendency to discuss sustainability by components (e.g., sustainable agriculture, sustainable cities, sustainable transportation) leaves the impression that the status quo of each particular category will not be threatened, and it suggests that these are independent of each other. Even my favorite terminology, *sustainable use of the planet,* implies mainly human use, not necessarily use by other species.

Because achievement of sustainable use of the planet will require a major commitment of a significant majority of humans and political entities,

"...the epic struggle concerns the survival of human society if the ecological support system is badly damaged..."

there has been a reluctance to acknowledge the epic nature of the ideological struggle now underway. Although minimally poetic, the struggle is certainly of great size/extent both temporally and spatially. The components of an epic are present in the struggle between human society and other species for limited space and resources of a finite planet. The irony is that we appear to be dependent (exemptionalists would disagree) upon an ecological life support system made up primarily by other species that need a significant portion of these resources to continue functioning. The classical components of an epic struggle in this context follow: (1) cataclysm — loss and fragmentation of ecosystems and species impoverishment/social disruption, (2) rebirth — ecological restoration, and (3) heroines and heroes — e.g., Rachel Carson, Aldo Leopold, Edward O. Wilson. (During a visit to Virginia Tech in 1996, Norman Myers stated that the generation developing a harmonious relationship with natural systems will be viewed as heroic figures, as well they should.) Ecological restoration is a major component of this relationship (Cairns, 1994) because it is human society's partial atonement for the damage it has done to natural systems. This attempt to restore mitigates, to a degree, the harsh penalties exacted when one attempts to circumvent the laws of nature. Ironically, much of our research and technology are designed to avoid natural law.

The Epic Struggle

This epic struggle is not about the survival of nature, because many species will persist regardless of human society's practices. Much biological damage will be done, as in past major extinctions, but life will endure. Instead, the epic struggle concerns the survival of human society if the ecological life support system is badly damaged and the ecological island Earth becomes a far less hospitable environment for *Homo sapiens.* Biological diversification and concomitant ecological recovery, unaided by humans, have followed past major extinctions, but have required millions of years. Ehrlich and Ehrlich (1981) note Peter Raven's estimate that for every plant that vanishes, 10 to 30 other organisms go down with it. Thus, the ecological life support system could collapse rather quickly.

There is a second epic struggle concerning sustainable use of the planet that is not the focus of this discussion, but which deserves mention. Planning for the well-being of remote descendants forces each person to confront mortality. Many people fear making a will for this reason. Discussing the idea of leaving a habitable planet for remote descendants involves considering a future that does not include everyone, and this concept is frightening, arguably unthinkable, for many. It is important that the epic struggle to confront mortality not override the analysis of the other epic struggle that is the focus of this discussion.

Huxley (1957) describes humans as "evolution become conscious of itself." Surely this revelation includes an acknowledgment both of human society's dependence on other species and the cruelty of driving many other species to extinction to satisfy short-term perceived human economic needs! But traditionally, this admission is not the case.

What value system should human society use to deal with the following situation? As human

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Table 1
Factors affecting population (Bartlett, 1994).
Nature chooses from the right-hand column;
people choose from the left-hand column.

Factors Increasing Population[1]	Factors Decreasing Population
procreation	*abstinence*[2]
motherhood	contraception
large families	abortion
immigration	small families
medicine	halting immigration
public health	disease
sanitation	war
peace	murder/violence
law and order	famine
scientific agriculture	accidents
accident prevention (55 mph speed limit)	pollution (cigarette smoking)
clean air	
ignorance of the problem	

[1] Many of the activities in the left-hand column are subsidized with taxpayer money (my comment, not Bartlett's). For details, see Myers and Kent (1998).
[2] Added by Cairns, with Bartlett's approval.

population approaches 6 billion, there are tiny numbers of whooping cranes in North America, giant pandas in China, or golden lion tamarins in Brazil. And, these endangered species are the exceptions because most species are gone forever before human society even knows how they lived. Many species have not even been named. Should they be mourned less when they vanish because human society did not take the time to know them? Does ignorance of the consequences of their loss protect human society from risks? Does a callousness toward the fate of other life-forms presage a similar indifference toward members of the human species that are unknown and cannot be called by name? I would answer "yes" to this last question and note that population growth increases our indifference to the welfare of other humans. These illustrative questions are raised as a reaction to present exemptionalist beliefs (the belief that humans are exempt from the laws of nature because of the omnipotence of science and technology), which threaten the ability of humankind to leave a habitable planet for future generations. The "epic struggle" may result in a major paradigm shift. We are experiencing one of the greatest ecological dramas of all time, but we are missing the play because we are all bit players on the stage! As the human population continues to grow, each of us becomes a smaller part of the expanding whole.

The Cause of the Epic Struggle

The continuing economic growth paradigm touted by most elected officials, chambers of commerce, and the like is arguably the choice social contract of this era. The growth paradigm seems to be accepted by most citizens — probably because it is the only way of life that our political "leaders" espouse. Two growth areas cry out for attention: (1) growth of populations and (2) growth of per capita consumption of resources. The Public Television specials "Affluenza" and "Escape from Affluenza" document the way many lives are dominated by the quest for material goods, but show clearly that many people are deeply concerned about the effects of consumerism on their own lives and the environment. (It seems ironic that videos of both programs could be purchased with credit cards, which exacerbate affluenza!)

One book on alternative lifestyles is the pioneering work of Helen and Scott Nearing (1979). I had the pleasure of hearing them lecture at the Philadelphia Ethical Culture Society in the 1950s and 1960s on their seminal book, *Living the Good Life.* An illustrative recent book has been written by Luhrs (1997), who also publishes *The Simple Living Journal* (Box 149, Seattle, WA 98103). In addition, what has been lost from the past is beautifully described in Brower's (1990) autobiography. Neither he nor I deplore the technological advances that extend productive life (e.g., bypass heart surgery or blood pressure and diabetes control), but we do deplore ravaging nature for more and more material goods.

The New Social Contract

A new, desperately needed social contract governing human society's relationship with natural systems should be explicitly stated and should also ensure that future generations have at least the same opportunities to enjoy natural systems as the present

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generation: "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on the Environment and Development, 1987). The contract could even go further and embark on an era of ecological restoration that would provide even better opportunities to enjoy natural systems than those of the present — approaching those Brower (1990) enjoyed in his early years. Cairns (1995) speculates that the integrity of ecosytems might be approximated by examining the practices of the human society inhabiting them. In short, much of their fate depends on human behavior.

Human society cannot achieve any of these goals if the number of humans on the planet keeps increasing and if economic growth (as now experienced) continues, unless humans are exempt from the biophysical laws of nature that apply to all other species, which, of course, they are not! There is persuasive reason for this belief. Natural systems have breakpoints or thresholds just as do elevators, bridges, electric power grids, etc. Until the threshold is crossed, all appears well. The problem is further complicated because thresholds are not fixed but modified by an array of other factors. Thresholds are recognized for humans in high stress professions (thus, such sayings as "the straw that broke the camel's back"). Technology has modified these biophysical laws by finding ways around them or substituting resources, etc., which some people interpret as abolishing or repealing the biophysical laws. This idea is an unfortunate interpretation and has scanty supporting evidence.

A new social contract (as always, I gratefully acknowledge the inspiration furnished by the Natural Step Program) governing human society's pledge to esteem other species with which it shares the planet and its common ecological life support system follows.

1. We will immediately balance ecological destruction and repair. This action is the only way to leave a habitable planet for our descendants.

2. The health of humans depends on the health of ecosystems. We affirm that other species have a right to a sufficient share of the planet's resources, including space, to ensure their survival. As a minimum, we pledge that ecosystem health will not be further impaired.

3. The owner of land is responsible for off-site damages that may result from activities carried out on the land.

4. Environmental debates should be on a level playing field. Politicians maintain that society can have growth and still save the environment if environmentalists will just compromise — read "give up." However, developers and environmentalists never debate as equals. The developers want to destroy a lot of the environment while the environmentalists want no destruction. If they debated as equals, the developer would say "I want to build this shopping center," and the environmentalist would say "Fine, take out that subdivision and restore nature on that site, then you can build your shopping center." Such a debate would be between equals — it never happens this way (Bartlett, 1994).

"Human society cannot achieve any of these goals if the number of humans on the planet keeps increasing and if economic growth continues..."

5. We pledge that the health and condition of the planet for both human society and natural systems will take precedence over affluenza (the addictive, never-satisfied quest for possessions).

6. We pledge to examine vigorously any claims of benefits for continued population growth of any kind.

7. We pledge to view exponential growth (as now understood) as a mechanism for increasing the imbalance of resource distribution both among human generations and among species.

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Table 2

Illustrative choices that will hamper or facilitate sustainable use of the planet.

1. Born to shop	1. Simple living
2. Exponential growth of resource use	2. Exponential growth of resource use
3. Flagrant individualism	3. Community spirit
4. Misery as the primary means of human population control (e.g. Boulding, 1971)	4. An enlightened social contract as the primary means of population control
5. Live for the moment	5. Compassion for future generations
6. Technology and ingenuity to free humans from natural laws	6.Acknowledgment of human dependence on ecological life support systems
7. Species extinction, if it actually occurs, does not bother me	7. Humans have an ethical and moral responsibility to cease anthropogenic extinction of other species
8. Economic development can and should raise all humans to the U.S. per capita level of affluence	8.The planet cannot support Earth's present population at the U.S. per capita level of affluence
9. Nobody can tell me what to do on my property	9. Property owners should be financially responsible for ecological damage resulting from their management practices
10. With low oil and coal prices, why spend money on alternative energy sources?	10. Solar and other alternative energy sources should be developed at an accelerated rate
11. No sharing of resources until human needs are fully satisfied	11. We should share resources equitably with other species — now
12. It is my right to drive wherever I please and own as many cars as I can afford	12. Environmentally, mass transit is essential for sustainable use of the planet

8. We pledge to restore ecological capital (e.g., old growth forests, topsoil, quality water resources) at a rate substantively in excess of depletion rates.

Surely something this beneficial to future generations should be possible in a democracy.

Indices of Happiness, Misery, Sustainability, and Compassion

As I was completing the first draft of this manuscript, I received a call from a scientist in one of the government agencies asking about a Gross National Happiness Index (GNHI) that had come to my attention when Tashi Wangchuck, a citizen of Bhutan, was taking my field course on restoration ecology at Rocky Mountain Biological Laboratory in Colorado (Cairns, 1993). Tashi told me then that the concept could not easily be conveyed from one language to another and one culture to another. We were discussing Gross National Product (GNP), which would be increased if a hydroelectric power dam were constructed in Bhutan, but that such an activity might well not result in a concomitant rise in the GNHI of Bhutan. I recalled a proverb that happiness is like a butterfly; pursue it and it is exceedingly elusive; but sit quietly and it may light on your shoulder.

I think the point that Tashi was making is that happiness is not as quantifiable as the Dow Jones industrial average. Additionally, happiness in the American culture may be dominated by whether one possesses the latest computer hardware and software (if conversations in a university town are a good criterion) or, for the younger generation, possession of the fanciest automobile. But in Bhutan, although they have roads, most people walk and they are not yet, if pictures are any indication, a bicycle culture as is the People's Republic of China and as we are an automobile culture. Happiness in Bhutan may be brought on by the arrival of cranes to the aquatic ecosystems near the monastery, whereas happiness in the American culture may be standing behind a rope and screaming at the television camera on one of the early morning TV shows.

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The question is how human society can re-think its "mythologies" about the natural world in light of growth patterns never envisioned in the earlier, and still commonly accepted, world views. In a very real sense, it is a call for a paradigm shift, especially in the Western scheme of things, toward a position more compatible with Eastern religions/philosophies by putting aside for the moment the economic growth paradigm that now seems global.

Specifically, in the Eastern view (Hindu, Buddhist, etc.), the biosphere is part and parcel of the entire creation, which is inhabited by all sorts of life-forms. No one species can dissociate itself from the entire system, since life is a continuum in space and time, encompassing the "lowest" to "highest" life over a large span of time. Life-forms change state and status over time, but the universe continues to embrace them all. On this continuum, there are no hard division lines between humans and other animals, or even between animals and plants. Life migrates from one stage to another, depending on the degree to which it has conformed to its inherent role in the whole — a good ant can progress "upward" in the scale; a bad human can sink to a "lower" form of life. All actions have inevitable consequences at some point in time, although it may not be apparent to humans just when these consequences will become evident. Ignoring pedestrian crossovers may or may not get one caught by the police; however, violating laws will affect future driving habits. Not getting caught leads to the belief that the violation has no consequences. Getting caught may lead to better driving habits or a letter to the editor condemning the police. In short, the Eastern paradigm sees a more interrelated universe, closer to the ecological model, than the Western version, closer to the economic growth model.

"Acknowledging our dependence on natural systems and penalties for violating natural law (the judgment motif) is ignored these days as a 'gloom and doom' mentality."

For Westerners (Jewish-Christian-Muslim), the biosphere is a backdrop for human activity (e.g., "subdue the earth") intended for human use because humans are a unique species. Only humans have the ability to make something new from existing materials. Some Easterners believe that human creativity and technology free us from the laws of nature that limit other species. Charles A. Kennedy (personal communication) notes that the word *paradise* borrows its meaning from the Persian formal gardens, related to the Mughal gardens of India, as well as the formal gardens of Europe. It is a fabricated garden, rigidly ordered, not a wild habitat.

Acknowledging our dependence on natural systems and penalties for violating natural law (the judgment motif) is ignored these days as a "gloom and doom" mentality. The idea of accountability and responsibility for actions is not very popular in an era of individual rights and freedom. But, the idea of infinite growth on a finite planet is untenable. Sooner or later, there will be an accounting. Elected officials, corporate executives, and many individuals hope that all the consequences will occur after they are out of office or dead. Here is where the notion of community needs to extend intergenerationally.

Arguably, this continuing debate began 200 years ago with Malthus' insightful publication. The basic problem is human population and affluence. In my opinion, the most difficult opposition comes from the "diverters." Bartlett (1998) notes that debaters of Malthus' theory could be divided into two camps: (1) believers and (2) critics, which include (a) nonbelievers and (b) diverters. The diverters he, in turn, divides into three groups:

> *The "other causes" group would have people believe that the problems of population growth are best addressed not by looking at the numbers, but by focusing our attention on other things.*
>
> *The sustainers try to convince people that we need not worry about population because "sustainable development" will solve the problems.*
>
> *The "them/not us" group seeks to divert attention away from the population problem in the United*

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States and focus people's attention on the growth of populations elsewhere.

The last point uses "elsewhere" to assign the consequences of the world's environmental crises to the nations with very high birth rates, conveniently ignoring the amount of the world's energy used by the United States and many other developed countries. These diversionary or marginalizing tactics have been used for environmental problems in general. Orr and Ehrenfeld (1995) believe that human society is in a state of denial about ecological problems, while Ehrlich and Ehrlich (1996) believe that there has been a substantive betrayal of science and reason. Both of these perceptions are probably operative and not mutually exclusive. Unfortunately, there is no clinic that human society can visit to solve these problems; a new social contract must be a self-healing process!

"...human society is in a state of denial about ecological problems..."

Conclusion

Few people faced reality as unblinkingly as the late Kenneth E. Boulding (1971)! I had the privilege of sitting beside him at a conference, which was eventually summarized in his "Ballad of Ecological Awareness" (Boulding, 1969). A small portion follows (with permission from Doubleday & Company, New York).

Development will conquer the diseases of the poor
By spraying all the houses and by putting in the sewer.
And we'll know we have success in our developmental pitch,
When everybody dies from the diseases of the rich.

These four lines humorously describe today's situation, although it is nearly three decades since they were first written. Also, Boulding (1971) offers three theorems on human population limitations as follows.

First Theorem: The Dismal Theorem

If the only ultimate check on the growth of population is misery, then the population will grow until it is miserable enough to stop its growth.

Second Theorem: The Utterly Dismal Theorem

This theorem states that any technical improvement can only relieve misery for a while, for so long as misery is the only check on population, the [technical] improvement will enable population to grow, and will soon enable more people to live in misery than before. The final result of [technical] improvements, therefore, is to increase the equilibrium population which is to increase the sum total of human misery.

Third Theorem: The Moderately Cheerful Form of the Dismal Theorem

Fortunately it is not too difficult to restate the Dismal Theorem in a moderately cheerful form, which states that if something else, other than misery and starvation, can be found which will keep a prosperous population in check, the population does not have to grow until it is miserable and starves, and it can be stably prosperous.

As Boulding noted at that time, the moderately cheerful form of the dismal theorem remains a question mark. (We now refer to the cheerful form of the dismal theorem as sustainable development, sustainability, sustainable use of the planet, etc.) We know that misery can surely be as effective today as it was when Boulding originally proposed the three theorems, but we hope, in our quest for sustainability, that a new social contract using intelligence guided by reason and scientific evidence will do so with less suffering. Whether we have the will to change or whether those who call attention to the planet's carrying capacity, resource exhaustion, destruction of ecological capital, and the like will be regarded as "enemies of the people" (as Ibsen's play "An Enemy of the People" [Fjelde, 1965] so vividly described) remains to be seen. TSC

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Cry, the Overcrowded Country

A Post-Earth Day Requiem

by Diana Hull

Earth Day, which is celebrated on April 22nd, evolved from the "land ethic" ideas put forth by Aldo Leopold in 1949. Leopold wanted to extend the general imperative for moral behavior toward other people and the community, to taking a moral stance toward the environment. He called this new movement *"ecocentrism."* In 1970, Senator Gaylord Nelson launched the annual observance called Earth Day as a time to contemplate the condition of the natural world and encourage action for its care and protection. But ecocentrism can only be effective if people protect that part of the earth for which they are responsible — their immediate surroundings, their home community and their country — places where they have some influence and a measure of control.

> Why is it so difficult to convince otherwise reasonable people that there is a strong connection between population growth, environmental damage, and immigration?

Clearly respect for carrying capacity is fundamental to stewardship, if growth is not to outrun our resources. And comprehensive programs to conserve and recycle will fail if population continues to grow. So why would major environmental organizations, who work for population stabilization all over the world, refuse to embrace this agenda at home?

It is because in the last several years the leaders of organizations like the Sierra Club have been subjected to the fuming hyperbole of pro-immigration's professional activists. They have been subjected to cant of the kind that makes politically correct folks quiver, then crumble, and finally acquiesce in the taking of unprincipled positions.

The United States will have half a billion people by the middle of the next century and nothing could be worse for the environment than to have our own country and other economically vigorous, but high consumption, Western nations become even more populated. One ominous consequence, should we not be able to stop this growth, is the continued decrease of farmland acreage in high-immigration nations like the United States, Canada and Australia — countries which are the only remaining net exporters of food. Poor people who can't feed their own children are less likely to agonize about saving the forests and protecting the butterflies.

Attention to crowding, blight and quality of life is more likely a concern of those whose basic needs are already taken are of. Yet, for being both motivated and able to focus on nature-conserving tasks, the environmental movement has now been labeled "elitist." But elitist is a mild rebuke compared to what the new social justice activists are calling "mainline" environmentalists now. They are being called "racists," "nativists," and worse if they dare to talk about the causal chain that links immigration, overpopulation, and environmental degradation.

With a population of 180 million people in 1970, the United States was close to sustainable size, but mass immigration in the last twenty years nullified that collective decision of American families to have

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fewer children. Having been the sought-after new land for over 200 years, long before our environment was threatened by overuse, the U.S. tried, with some breaks in the pattern, to continue that tradition. Despite dramatically changed circumstances, we still remain the destination country for a million and a half people a year. There is a broad consensus that that number needs to be lowered substantially. Forty different opinion polls show that result, but few elected officials have the courage to do anything about it.

"Present U.S. size is not the result of any enunciated policy. It is more the product of purposeful neglect by government in response to vigorous special-interest advocacy."

As a result, we are now at an impasse, where the demand for water, landfill and housing, and the conservation of wetlands and wildlife butts up against cherished beliefs about the giving of shelter, the free movement of people and the "right of abode." One obstacle to action is the velvet glove of compassion; the other is the intimidating fist of "political correctness."

As a way out of this dilemma, major environmental groups, like the Sierra Club, have tried to finesse the issue by placing the blame for environmental degradation on U.S. patterns of consumption alone, and by embracing global, rather than national, approaches to population stabilization.

Since biological systems are interdependent it was logical to look at the earth as a single entity. It is admittedly high-minded — some would say arrogant — to try and manage the fertility of the rest of humanity and influence the population density of every nation on the planet. But despite "global village" yearnings the world's people are still organized into nation states, bounded socially, culturally, philosophically and in some places physically, with various kinds of borders and gates. Consequently the world's people haven't been "pureed" yet, and that's not all bad.

Within these real and intangible confines, people have, at least theoretically, the power and surely the responsibility, to shape their own destiny, including how crowded they want their country to be.

Present U.S. size is not the result of any enunciated policy. It is more the product of purposeful neglect by government in response to vigorous special-interest advocacy. Although those who benefit most from our startling growth like to attribute it to some "inevitable, unstoppable natural force," it is neither necessarily "natural" nor unstoppable.

When environmentalists take the global approach to over- population, it is really an escape route from an issue that is now perceived as "too sensitive" to deal with and more difficult than it actually is. The idea that we must solve this problem everywhere, rather than by you and me, here and now, has been latched onto by the faint of heart and conviction. The global approach conveniently transfers the problem of too many people way off somewhere else, at a great distance — in Africa, Asia or India — anywhere but in our own communities.

As a polity, the United States, itself, is vast and hardly manageable. If we refuse or don't know how to eat our own share of that elephant-sized population problem, how can we claim to know how to be successful on a global scale? When Carl Pope, executive director of the Sierra Club, announced piously last year that "overpopulation is a world-wide problem," it wasn't exactly "breaking news." But there was a "method" in his talking as if the U.S. was too small an arena to warrant his concern,

Pope's was a well thought-out approach, with no political price. All of the big New York- and D.C.-based population groups had already gone international because family planning for the Third World is a criticism-proof way to spend the money of American charitable foundations. This effort has meager opposition, except from the Catholic Church. Yet this laudable work overseas doesn't even have a marginal effect on the upward spiral of U.S. population because mass immigration to the United States has already gained too much momentum for that.

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The pressure on us will continue from many directions because more than 4.7 billion people live in countries poorer than Mexico, and that number is growing by 80 million a year. Any possible leveling off of world population is not predicted until after the 21st century.

Yet we were being told, in effect, by all of the international population foundations, and recently by most major environmental organizations, that stabilizing our own population is *not* part of their mission — that, in effect, what *they* are doing is bigger and more important than that.

This reluctance to tackle the problem at home is due to lobbying by both business and ethnic activists who argue that in the United States, unlike in the world outside, "numbers don't matter." Demographer Meredith Burke points out that open border groups, and now some environmentalists, are now claiming that "population size is disconnected from its environmental consequences."

"The worst thing that could happen to the pro-immigration forces would be for a large and influential organization like the Sierra Club to lobby Congress for immigration reduction..."

The Sierra Club, ZPG (Zero Population Growth) and other organizations endorsed this view when the fumes of political correctness became particularly pungent. But how can anyone accept the proposition that population size affects the environment overseas, but not in the United States? What is now "off the table" in the Sierra Club, for example, is any mention about how the vastly increased human presence caused by immigration to the United States can defeat their other programs to conserve our natural resources.

Fortunately many senior luminaries of the movement like Lester Brown, David Foreman, Stewart Udall, Anthony Beilenson and Gaylord Nelson, founder of Earth Day, continue to "call it like it is." All are currently out of favor with the revamped Board of Directors that is now dominated by "social justice" leaders from the "Political Ecology Group" who care primarily about protecting the rights of immigrants and keeping levels of immigration high.

Environmentalists who disagree are soon accused of "racism" and their opinions described as "the greening of hate." That particular phrase is so catchy that every press report about the Sierra Club internal conflict last year carried those words in the headline

Behind this push to keep the environmental groups away from the immigration issue is the widespread understanding that they are the natural constituency for a more restrictive population policy. The worst thing that could happen to the pro-immigration forces would be for a large and influential organization like the Sierra Club to lobby Congress for immigration reduction — or even demand a formal U.S. population policy, which would undoubtedly lead to immigration restriction.

To stop that from happening the National Immigration Forum decided they were environmentalists too, declaring they would address the "root causes" of immigration, while combating "white supremacy" and "institutional racism." Attempts at population reduction, they said, showed hostility to "people of color" and was a "scapegoating and bashing of immigrants." They claimed this "hateful atmosphere" was fomented by population stabilization groups working in the United States, which they said were composed of "eugenicists" and "neo-Nazi's." Actually the founders and leaders of organizations like FAIR (The Federation for American Immigration Reform) were past presidents of ZPG and Planned Parenthood and had spent their lives working for pro-social causes and in all manner of efforts to protect natural resources.

By 1995, the National Immigration Forum (NIF) had gotten their own people appointed to the Sierra Club board and committees. The bridges NIF used into the Sierra Club were political organizations interested in "Environmental Justice." These NIF client-groups took on some worthwhile projects, such as removing toxic waste dumps in poor neighborhoods. But they also promoted virtually unlimited entry into the United States, especially for what they called "people of

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color" — a new "right" in the social justice lexicon. By 1996 these newly-minted environmentalists persuaded the Sierra Club board to "take no position on immigration levels, or on policies governing immigration into the United States."

Trying to understand these events better, I talked with Dr. Judith Kunofsky, a 25-year veteran of the environmental movement. She says frankly that she comes from the political left. She was the long- time executive director of the Yosemite Restoration Trust and chair of the Population Committee of the Sierra Club. In that position she authored the club's policy statement in 1989, writing that "the club would always make the connection between immigration, population increase and the environmental consequences thereof." At that time the U.S. was admitting 507,000 people a year, less than half the number admitted today.

Under her leadership, club policy had always been that Sierrans deal "*not only with the number of people on the planet, but the number of people in every nation on the planet.*" But, she said, "I became weary when my opponents got vicious."

"I was getting into constant fights over this," she said, "because it was claimed that talking about population numbers infuriated 'people of color,' and that was the reason we were told that the Sierra Club shouldn't deal with this issue. It was a strange position," she said, "for an organization that was supposed to say truthful things on behalf of the earth. I always quoted poll reports to them showing that the majority of Hispanics also support immigration restriction. But the leadership of the Sierra Club was, at that point, dealing only with the liberal-foundation-supported activists, who claimed to speak for everyone, but really did not," she said.

Kunofsky continued by saying, "It was obvious that if you are talking about population, you are really talking about immigration — a direction in which the Sierra Club refused to go. What they decided to include as population issues were being pro-choice and pro-family planning."

"This policy of avoidance began several years earlier," she remembered, "with a telephone call from a Hispanic member of Congress from Southern California. One of his staffers told our field representative that the Congressman was outraged that the Club wanted to limit immigration. And then a number of Hispanic citizen's groups in Los Angeles threatened that if the Sierra Club opposed immigration, they wouldn't work with them on air pollution issues. I even made 'left wing' arguments against immigration like those made by the Socialist Workers Party, i.e. that new entrants compete with the organized working class for jobs. But you still couldn't get anywhere with the pro-immigration activists. I don't have a good sense about where this is heading," she said.

Kunofsky believes that population restriction is clearly critical to protecting the environment and that the vast majority of Americans agree it is in the national interest to do so. The reason there is paralysis on this issue, she says, is that those with "politically correct" counter opinions are willing to throw away everything else to support continued immigration. "When you have ethnic spokesmen saying to environmentalists that 'we won't work with you on clean air if you support immigration restriction' well," she said, "that is an admission that increasing their own numbers takes precedence over all other considerations and that environmental concerns are secondary."

"...it was claimed that talking about population numbers infuriated 'people of color'... It was a strange position for an organization [the Sierra Club] that was supposed to say truthful things on behalf of the earth."
— Dr. Judith Kunofsky

She thinks that inertia will continue to drive high levels of immigration, and as new parts of the country have more and more people who are recent immigrants, that will increase immigration even more as they press to bring in their relatives.

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The San Francisco-based Political Ecology Group (PEG) was given the task of promoting the Sierra's Club's new direction and to work for a club initiative that excluded immigration from the agenda. They persisted in the bizarre argument that "there is no causal relationship between the number of people and environmental impacts." The interesting thing was how many of their ideas were identical to those of the late Libertarian think tank guru Julian Simon, an economist, and one of those "right wing zealots" the PEG claimed to hate so much. Julian Simon also rejected the idea of "carrying capacity," and declared there was no meaningful physical limit to our growing forever. He argued that the supply of natural resources increases as populations grow, and that the United States was an example of a place where "the need for increased resources leaves us with a permanently increased ability to get them."

"Kunofsky is convinced that reducing immigration has become increasingly impossible politically — that we may already have reached the point where we can't do anything about it."

David Foreman, co-founder of Earth First, didn't remark on Julian Simon's ideas, but called the Political Ecology Group "race-baiting hooligans of the left, who make it impossible to have an intelligent discussion on this subject."

Environmentalists of his persuasion will also be disappointed to learn that nearly every one of the 48 members of Congress who received support from the Sierra Club or the League of Conservation Voters for their pro-environment record, also worked to defeat even modest proposals to reduce the number of immigrants. Refusal to grasp the problem of cognitive dissonance that this represents only delays doing what is necessary, i.e. requiring an environmental impact report on all facets of immigration policy.

It came to naturalist Loren Eiseley in a dream that man could by nature be a parasite, a spore bearer and a world eater. We could be in our "swarming" phase right now, he wrote, full of insatiable hunger and running through nature as if it were inexhaustible. He warned us not to heed the disastrous growth messages that were drowning out the ear of reason and instead, through our culture, "make a conscious reentry into the sunflower forest we had thought merely to exploit and abandon."

After working on the "sustainable numbers" problem for years, Judith Kunofsky is convinced that reducing immigration has become increasingly impossible politically — that we may already have reached the point where we can't do anything about it. Although the public wants immigration slowed down, she is *not* sure that significant numbers of people have any gut sense *that there really are environmental limits.* "I am not optimistic," she said — a disquieting thought for the "ecocentric" founders of Earth Day, still hoping for the joy that would come to us all from an uncrowded country. TSC

NOTES

1. New people on the Sierra Club Board (1998) or in other leadership positions include Board Member Cathie Tactaquin, executive director of The National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, along with Brad Erickson, coordinator of the Political Ecology Group and editor of the Sierra Club book, *Call to Action: Handbook for Ecology, Peace and Justice.*

2. The National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights is an umbrella group with 22 organizations represented. One of the member groups is CHIRLA (Coalition for Humane Immigrants Rights of Los Angeles) CHIRLA itself is a coalition of 125 civil rights groups, organized to improve conditions for immigrants in Los Angeles. CHIRLA has close ties to the Mexican government through their consulate in Los Angeles. The ACLU and MALDEF are members of CHIRLA.

3. In 1998, Sierra Club members were given the opportunity to vote on whether the club should work to reduce immigration. For a comprehensive discussion of the ballot issues, see Roy Beck's 8-page review of December 12, 1997. This is part of the Environmental Poster Project at www. numbersusa.com.

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Regionwide Planning Will Make the Problem Worse

Population growth is ignored by the planners

by Albert A. Bartlett

What a shock it was to read the editorial of my hometown newspaper, the Boulder *Daily Camera,* and to find there that the paper is advocating a course of action in regard to planning which will make problems worse and which will result in the dilution and destruction of democracy in Boulder County and in the Front Range area of Colorado.

The editorial that conveyed this terrible message carried the title, "Regionwide Planning Needed." The editorial noted that:

> *When you realize that Boulder County is one of the fastest-growing areas in the nation, when you regularly encounter traffic-clogged streets, when you see exploding housing prices driving out even the middle class, when you see the shortsighted results of hit-and-run zoning changes, when you watch helplessly as huge land grabs are made through bitter municipal annexation wars, then you know it's time for sensible planning and action at the regional level.*

This compact quotation neatly identifies the cause of the problems (Boulder County is "one of the fastest-growing areas in the nation"), the problems ("traffic-clogged streets," etc.), and the *Camera's* "solution" ("planning and action at the regional level").

Population growth is causing all the enumerated problems but, as I will demonstrate, *regional planning is not a "solution" because it will enlarge the problems and make them all worse.*

Regional Planning

Consider the following two facts:

1) Regional planning does not address the cause of the problems that was correctly identified in the editorial, i.e. population growth. A fundamental law of nature is, "You can't solve a problem if you ignore its cause." So no matter how much planning is done, none of the problems will be solved if the population growth is allowed to continue in the County. Aspirin is not a solution for cancer, although it may make the patient more comfortable.

2) At a more fundamental level we must recognize that the main point of planning is to "solve" problems that arise from crowding. Thus, planning is designed to help accommodate larger populations. To see how this works let's imagine that the problem is traffic congestion and that regional planning calls for, and ultimately produces, a large expansion of the regional highway system. This will encourage and facilitate further population growth so that soon the added new population will overwhelm and clog the expanded regional highway system. (Bartlett, 1969, 1973) The taxpayers will have paid for the planning, they will have paid for the expanded highways, and in return they will get traffic congestion on an enlarged regional scale.

Thus, population growth forces us to go to regional planning instead of local planning. This enlarges the problem so that local congestion becomes transformed into regional congestion, and nothing is solved: indeed, the problems of congestion are made worse.

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The feedback is positive. Efforts that are made to use regional planning to "solve" local problems cause the local problems to grow to be regional problems.

Here's how it works.

1) Things that impede population growth are regarded as problems that must be solved.

2) It follows then that solving these problems aids and facilitates population growth.

One needs to remember Eric Sevareid's Law: *The chief cause of problems is solutions.* (Sevareid, 1970) Indeed, one can recognize a fundamental Law of Planning:

> *Planning in a community or region can provide long-term solutions to community or regional problems only if the planning causes, or is accompanied by, a complete cessation of population growth in the community or region.*

Regional Planning Dilutes and Ultimately Defeats Democracy

What does regional planning do to democracy? In 1950 the population of the City of Boulder was 20,000. So when speaking to a member of the City Council in 1950, a citizen of Boulder was one voice in 20,000. In 1999 the population of Boulder is approximately five times larger, so one citizen of Boulder now is one voice in 100,000. Population growth in Boulder since 1950 has diluted democracy in Boulder by a factor of five! This is bad enough. But look what will happen if we turn to regional planning as we seek democratic "solutions" to the problems. If there are 300,000 people in the "region," then, as seen by the individual citizen, regional planning will further dilute democracy by another factor of three. If the "region" includes the metropolitan Denver counties with perhaps 2.5 million population, one citizen of Boulder will be reduced to being only one voice in 2.5 million! Then, to make things even worse, if regional planning is "successful" it will hasten the population growth in the region to 3, 4, or even 5 million, with the corresponding further destruction of democracy.

For the individual, democracy is inversely proportional to the size of the participating population.

In an interview with Bill Moyers, Isaac Asimov made a very profound observation:

> *Democracy cannot survive overpopulation. Human dignity cannot survive overpopulation. Convenience and decency cannot survive overpopulation. As you put more and more people onto the world, the value of life not only declines, it disappears. It does not matter if someone dies. The more people there are, the less one person matters.* (Moyers, 1980)

The Remote High Priests of Regional Planning

When regional planning is done, the regional planners are almost impossibly remote from the average citizen. The planners can become a priesthood which has access to the "truth" as it is determined by pliable computer models and by the planners' trusted advisers, who generally are the rich and influential promoters. In their centrally isolated office suites, the regional planners are so remote, and the democratic processes are so dilute, that the regional planners can largely ignore individual citizens and citizens' groups. With all their "expertise," they can override the objections of citizens and recommend the destruction of neighborhoods by putting in mega-malls, industrial centers, beltways, and giant tourist attractions wherever their regional computer models or their influential advisors indicate would be "best for the region." Planners almost never question the need for these large intrusive facilities: if promoters want to put them in. Planning seems to consist solely in finding the location that is "best for the region," independent of the wishes of the people of the region. In most cases, "best" means "least bad."

"For the individual, democracy is inversely proportional to the size of the participating population."

To facilitate these developments the regional planners can always be counted on to produce environmental impact statements that assert with great authority that the impact of each proposed new development on traffic, air and water quality, and on the quality of life, will be "minimal."

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It is difficult for the average citizen to counter arguments that are produced by distant and intimidating high priests who are emboldened by their advanced degrees and are masters of their obedient computer models. Through the use of regional planning, democracy is thus replaced by an oligarchy.

An Example

In 1995 I heard a talk by one of these regional planners for a major metropolitan region in a western state. He had the best professional credentials. His central professional interactions were apparently not with people, but with promoters, planners, statistics and computer models. He was thoroughly insulated from any constituency of ordinary citizens, and when he had to appear before citizens, he made an attempt to sound elevated, erudite, and learned. He showed computer-generated graphs of the projected population growth of the region. With regard to these graphs, he used the term "optimistic" to describe the steeply rising curve of the "rapid-growth scenario" and the term "pessimistic" to describe the less rapidly rising curve of the "slow-growth scenario." The growth lines on his graphs went steadily upward all the way to the right edge of the graphs. Though planners are supposed to think about the future, he gave no sign of having thought about what would happen in the years to the right of the right end of his graphs. Would the growth continue forever, or would it sometime stop? (Bartlett, 1978) What might cause the growth to stop? Will the growth produce better lives for the people of the community whose "commons" are being so eagerly destroyed by the influential few who do thereby benefit?

"A central ingredient in 'smart growth' is regional planning; but, regional planning encourages more population growth, and population growth is unsustainable."

I am sure that if this planner felt that the greater good of the region was served by bisecting a neighborhood with a new concrete freeway, he would have no qualms about destroying the neighborhood by installing the planners' equivalent of the Berlin Wall.

Unfortunately, the planner did not stay to hear the talks that followed his. These talks told of the severe regional problems with the underfunded school systems, the environmental deterioration, the congestion, the air pollution, and the predictable problems with water supply and waste disposal, which are all the direct result of past growth and which were not currently being adequately addressed even though continued population growth in the area was constantly being stimulated.

Smart Growth

We hear a lot today about "smart growth," as though "smart growth" was the magic key to the achievement of sustainability. A central ingredient in "smart growth" is regional planning; but, regional planning encourages more population growth, and population growth is unsustainable. (Bartlett 1994, 1998) It is thus clear that "smart growth" can't solve the problems.

"Smart growth" destroys the environment. "Dumb growth" destroys the environment. The only difference is that "smart growth" destroys the environment with good taste. That in itself is a worthwhile goal, but one is still destroying the environment. It's like booking passage on the *Titanic*. If you are dumb, you go steerage. If you are "smart" you go first class. But either way, the result is the same.

It was reported that Ted Turner recently said:

> *I maintain there is no such thing as smart growth. We are the one species that is out of control in its growth.* (Turner, 1998)

Smart growth is a means of making unsustainability as pleasant as possible.

Conclusion

One can guess that regional planning made Los Angeles what it is today. Regional planning in the Front Range area will do for Colorado what it did for southern California. Apparently this is what the *Camera* really wants, for in supporting the population growth that destroys the commons, the *Camera* will increase its circulation numbers. Or does the *Camera*

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really believe we in Colorado will do things differently from the way they have been done in Southern California? TSC

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'Smart Growth' Ignores Many Harsh Truths

Pretty fixes won't solve problems of growth

by B. Meredith Burke

Recently the President's Council on Sustainable Development sponsored a National Town Meeting for a Sustainable America. Organizers expected 3,000 people — business leaders, environmentalists, concerned citizens — to show up in Detroit. Thousands more participated through satellite links, the internet, and local community events.

The event was designed to publicize the best resource-conserving practices of businesses nationwide. Implied is the message that using "best practice" design and technology the United States can support a growing economy and a growing population indefinitely at a non-deteriorating quality of life.

> Today's sustainable growth community excludes as either symptom or cause the ultimate force: population growth.

This echoes the recent well-orchestrated "smart growth" campaign. From Vice President Al Gore's endorsement, to a Sierra Club "Challenge to Sprawl" campaign, to *Time* magazine's featured story last month, "smart growth" is hailed as the panacea for our urban land use ills.

Smart (aka "managed") growth will preserve open space and reduce commutes by recycling abandoned industrial sites and inner-city buildings, intermingling housing and small businesses, and increasing housing densities.

I am terrified by smart growth apologists. They slickly but falsely reassure the polity that their piecemeal solutions represent a coherent, comprehensive policy that will deliver our land endowment unscathed to generations to come.

Thirty brief years ago M.I.T. professor Jay Forrester imparted an essential lesson in his books, *System Dynamics* and *Urban Dynamics*. Approaching a complex systemic problem piecemeal guarantees (a)

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confusing a symptom with the cause, and therefore, (b) prescribing futile — or worse, counterproductive — solutions.

Today's sustainable growth community excludes as either symptom or cause the ultimate force: population growth.

Consider that the Los Angeles of 1950 had about two million residents; today Los Angeles (all five counties of it) exceeds 15 million. Phoenix's population grew ten-fold between 1950 and 1990.

How could smart growth have arrested sprawl while retaining the density, housing options, and recreational and wilderness access local residents desired? How could "sustained development" have prevented increased energy demands, waste production, accretions to global warming, and preserved natural habitats from human encroachment?

"Pretty solutions are socially and politically cost-free. They enable us to do business (pretty much) as usual..."

In a finite world, the smart use of resources and insistence upon recycling are admirable. But these sidestep ecologist Garrett Hardin's question, "and then what?" Strictly enforced, greenbelt boundaries in the face of incessant population growth will result in mini-Manhattans inside and a new wave of out-migration (and loss of farmland and wilderness) by persons who want to see blue sky, not high-rises. Smart growth avoids tabulating the overall eco-system demands created by human beings regardless of where they are housed.

We first Earth Day activists of the 1970's accepted that long-term sustainability would exact psychological as well as physical costs of Americans. Clearly, mankind's wresting control of epidemiological forces had irrevocably altered demographic and technological reality. This changed reality obligated us to reevaluate cherished ideals, jettisoning some now ill-adapted to healthy survival while elevating others.

We never doubted that we had the power to craft this future.

The 1972 President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future understood that managing growth was secondary to the more fundamental question, what should be the country's optimum population? By 1970 the U.S. population had soared to 200 million from 1940's 130 million. The commission urgently recommended stabilization — not on ecological grounds but on ideological: it could identify no American value furthered by population growth. The study noted that reproductive health and immigration policies had to respect this reality.

Congress rejected both a national population policy and demographic accountability. Now Congress straightfacedly maintains that the ensuing 70 million population gain "just happened." More culpably, it ignores population as a factor affecting our future options.

I cautioned my circa-1970 college students about the understandable but craven preference for "pretty solutions." Pretty solutions are socially and politically cost-free. They enable us to do business (pretty much) as usual, avoid making drastic and permanent lifestyle changes, and steer clear of the costs of crafting policy in an arena unaccepting of political compromises.

Smart growth is the ultimate pretty solution. Indeed, its adherents blindly protest there are NO solutions where they merely cannot see a pretty one.

Ecologists David and Marcia Pimentel of Cornell University and Paul and Anne Ehrlich of Stanford are among the many who assert that the U.S.'s sustainable population is below 150 million.

From a resource consumption and global warming view the entire world would arguably be better off with a smaller American population.

Yet neither smart growth advocates nor Congress will confront those interest groups reflecting either the frontiersman's mentality that more is better, or the unrealistic belief we best benefit the world by remaining a demographic pressure valve. Until they accept the existence of limits, "sustainable development" adherents do not merely dwell in a Never-Never Land. They imperil both our country's and the globe's survival. TSC

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Population Growth Dilutes Our Nation's Democracy

How about 8,700 seats in the nation's House?

by M. Boyd Wilcox

Twenty-seven years ago, on March 27, 1972, this nation was given the benefit of a thorough and compassionate effort that would greatly assist progress toward long-term security and sustainability. Tragically, the advice offered was ignored, and we are still paying for this avoidance.

What were those words of wisdom?

They said in part that, "no substantial benefits will result from further growth of the nation's population ... we have not found any convincing economic argument for continued population growth ... the health of our country does not depend upon it ... nor does the vitality of business nor the welfare of the average person ... and that the gradual stabilization of our population would contribute significantly to the nation's ability to solve its problems."

This report of the Commission on Population and the American Future was issued by its chairman, John D. Rockefeller III. We are now 27 years and over 60 million people beyond its uttering, and what are we to make of the state of our Union? Have we indeed made progress in solving our most serious problems? What are our most serious problems and how do they relate to overall population pressure?

Environmental and natural resource issues are constantly in the news. Progress made seems to be counterbalanced by reports of additional discoveries, such as endocrine disrupters in water; the loss of farmland and urban sprawl; the continuous, seemingly intractable conflicts over saving tiny remnants of ancient forests; and ongoing efforts to prevent the loss of threatened/endangered species. The struggle persists to define a truly sustainable relationship with the natural world.

What about man-made resources; the social-psychological-political glue that holds a nation and society together and allows it to cope? What about our most cherished operational myth, the one of Democracy ... the one we depend upon to assist in solving our most difficult dilemmas?

Alienation from the political process is at an all-time high. Voting in national elections has plummeted from around 80 percent at the turn of the century to less than 50 percent nowadays. A well-written letter to one's representative in Congress elicits a computerized form-letter reply designed for that category of issue, with little personal attachment or acknowledgment of specific questions or ideas expressed by the constituent.

One can e-mail the President only to receive back an auto-responder reply, thanking you for using this wonderful technology and mentioning "this is the only reply you will get regardless of how many messages you send today." Computers talking to computers and, once again, the individual is left with no effective relationship with his/her representative. But can we blame the Members of Congress? What would you do to manage the concerns of and correspondence of 600,000 constituents in your district?

The original ratio was 1-to-30,000. Not only has our nation's population increased over 270 times since the founding of the Republic, but the ratio in each district has increased 20 times. It would take 8,700 members of the U.S. House to restore that original ratio (20 times 435 = 8,700). Can you imagine 8,700 seats in the House? Most people agree that "only" 435 is too many already.

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How much more diluted can democracy get? How much more cynical and alienated can citizens become? Is there any credible argument that more people contribute to a workable democracy? If democracy is not working, what can we count on to solve our problems? How much longer will we ignore the wisdom of the Rockefeller Report? These questions and how we propose to tackle them ought to be a major issue in the year 2000 presidential campaign.

It is time we revisited how our population pressure affects overall quality of life in this country, including an investigation of forces that continue to push our population numbers higher and higher. We should dust off the Rockefeller Report and add to it knowledge gained during the past 27 years.

We need to get on with the business of establishing a national population policy designed to place the nation on a pathway to a stable population, at a level or range deemed sustainable for the long-term future.

Whether we conclude this level to be less than, equal to, or greater than our present population of 270 million must be trusted to a process that can also serve as a model for other nations and bioregions to emulate. What will our future hold if we cannot gain the political will to do this? Will that already-attained size and complexity of our population prevent a consensus from being reached? Is it already too late? How prophetic were the words of 27 years ago? TSC

Facing Up to the Technological Limits

by William B. Dickinson

As recently as 800 A.D., a blink of an eye in Earth's history, a great civilization flourished in the southern lowlands of Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras. This was the time of classic Mayan civilization, when a tropical homeland had been transformed into a landscape of great cities ruled by powerful lords. We know from core borings into ancient lake beds that its collapse came suddenly. Within a few hundred years, many of the great ceremonial centers had been abandoned and large areas were deserted, never to be reoccupied.

What happened? Archaeologists may differ, but the scientific evidence suggests that droughts, slashing and burning of primordial forests, and overpopulation combined to bring about the Mayan collapse. The Mayan disaster and others throughout humankind's relatively brief history are set forth in stunning detail in Brian Fagan's new book, *Floods, Famines and Emperors: El Nino and the Fate of Civilizations* (Basic Books, 1999).

Fagan is professor of anthropology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and a former Guggenheim Fellow. His careful exploration of the connection between weather, population and the fate of civilizations amounts to a cautionary tale. It should be read by all those who continue to believe that our technology will overcome Nature and give us dominion over Earth.

Fagan points out that until 10 millennia ago, all humanity lived by hunting animals and by gathering wild plant foods. For most of this time, the global population was nearly stable, growing at a rate of just 0.0015 percent annually. At that time, perhaps 10 million people lived on Earth. Even so, the world was close to the limits of its ability to support people living by foraging alone. Soon the foragers were farmers, and population grew rapidly. By 1800 A.D., when the Industrial Revolution began, the world's population

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had reached 1 billion people. Today there are 6 billion of us, with projections of up to 9 billion by 2050.

"We are now dangerously close to the technological limits of what we can achieve to feed everyone on this bountiful earth," Fagan concludes. "No number of green revolutions, desert irrigation schemes, or fish farms can satisfy the food needs of such expanding numbers... The issue is sustainability.

"No number of green revolutions, desert irrigation schemes, or fish farms can satisfy the food needs of such expanding numbers..."
— Brian Fagan

With 6 billion people, the classic equations of population, carrying capacity, and environmental degradation have assumed global proportions, and the lessons of history give us few precedents."

Fagan ends on a slightly upbeat note, suggesting that perhaps growing public consciousness of global warming and of El Ninos will lead to unprecedented levels of cooperation among people and nations to create a self-sustaining world. Most compelling, though, is his warning: "The record of the past suggests that the fate of industrial civilization depends upon it."

Modern technology is wonderful, and long live the Internet bubble. But human beings have not proven themselves especially adept at foreseeing coming disasters or in acting on those they do see. Where weather is involved, mankind holds little sway. The most striking record in 1998 was the stunning jump in Earth's average temperature. *Vital Signs, 1999,* published by the Worldwatch Institute, says this measurement has been going up for several years. But the jump in 1998 was so large it went off the scale of the chart Worldwatch had been using.

Warming temperatures mean more melting. Scientific studies show an acceleration of the melting of ice, particularly in high altitudes and polar regions - melting that points toward the inundation of coastal areas. Weather-related damages in 1998 totaled $982 billion, higher than those for the entire decade of the 1980s. World-wide, record storms and floods drove some 300 million people from their homes. Population pressures force more and more people onto marginal land subject to flooding.

Many scientists believe that our fossil-fueled economy is dumping so much carbon dioxide into the atmosphere that greenhouse gas will drive temperatures up and disrupt global agriculture. But other scientists disagree, clouding the issue and rendering swift action impossible. Meantime, the logging and fires continue in rain forests throughout the world. A Global Forest Policy Project reports that Brazil's Amazon rain forest is being destroyed or badly damaged more than twice as fast as previously believed.

Edward O. Wilson, Harvard biologist and Pulitzer Prize winner, is one thinker who has contemplated the environmental basis of our existence. In his latest book, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge* (Knopf, 1998), he argues that overpopulation and environmental destruction are at the forefront of global problems. Wilson writes: "A very Faustian choice is upon us: whether to accept our corrosive and risky behavior as the unavoidable price of population and economic growth, or to take stock of ourselves and search for a new environmental ethic." He sees humanity as "a household living giddily off natural capital."

These are the kinds of problems that seem to elude the new global economy. Jim Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank, told the Trilateral Commission in March that globalization is a chimera to the world's poor. Two billion people live on less than $2 a day, he said, and almost as many do not have access to clean water. "We live in a world that gradually is getting worse and worse and worse," he concluded. "It is not hopeless, but we must do something about it now... At the level of people, the system is not working."

What mankind cannot — or will not — do to bring population into balance with resources, Nature eventually does for us. The Black Death that struck Europe in 1348 and succeeding decades is instructive.

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The late historian David Herlihy argues that this catastrophe shook European society loose from a condition of high population density, intensive grain production and widespread poverty. "(The plague) broke the Malthusian deadlock that medieval growth had created," he concludes *(The Black Death and the Transformation of the West,* Harvard University Press, 1998). "Out of the havoc of plague, Europe adopted what can be called the modern Western mode of demographic behavior." Poor, populous nations now need to heed this lesson.

Consider this: today, some descendants of the Maya live in the Lacandon rain forest of Chiapas, where the human population has risen twenty-five-fold since 1960 while tree cover has fallen from 90 percent to 30 percent. Brian Fagan points out that not only has the indigenous Mayan population risen rapidly, but land-hungry peasants, Mexicans fleeing persecution, and refugees from Guatemala have settled there as well. Where 12,000 people once lived, there are now 300,000. Don't be surprised if, over the coming decades, large numbers of such desperate people driven by shortages of food, land and water show up on our doorsteps. TSC

Are Environmentalists Their Own Worst Enemy?

Book Review by John F. Rohe

When protecting forests, the environmental movement seeks regional solutions. When addressing solid waste issues, it promotes local laws. When communicating a core message, it invokes slogans like, "Think Globally, Act Locally."

Forest conservation, solid waste and ethics are global concerns, yet the environmental movement does not hold out for an all-or-nothing worldwide resolution. Would the environmentalist boycott local protective efforts pending an international consensus on conservation? Not likely. Environmental losses are incremental. Solutions are often less than complete. The environmentalist still finds it worth the effort. Piecemeal solutions are sometimes as good as it gets.

Ironically, some environmentalists shrink from regional solutions for the one fundamental cause serving as the multiplier of all the others. Whether it is urban sprawl, global warming, air pollution or groundwater contamination, two times as many people will have approximately twice the impact. Environmental causes intractably involve global issues. But on only one issue do some environmentalists shy away from a local solution: immigration.

Dumbstruck by the paradox? So are the authors of this book.

In this 1999 publication from the Federation for American Immigration Reform, authors Scipio Garling and Ira Mehlman, with researcher Jeff Gellner, challenge the holdouts in the movement who will not embrace immigration reform as an important part of the solution to environmental problems. The 63-page text brims with factual support for the

The Environmentalist's Guide to a Sensible Immigration Policy
by Scipio Garling and Ira Mehlman
Washington D.C.: Federation for American Immigration Reform
63 pages, $10.95

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relationship between the ills of urban sprawl and the consequences of U.S. immigration policies.

Residents of the United States have started to take control of their demographic destiny. We have responded to population and environmental concerns by reducing fertility on a voluntary, non-coercive basis. In the early 1960s, women in the United States, on average, were still having 3.5 children each. By the early 1970s, the U.S. fertility rate actually dropped below replacement level! The represents a compelling statement for less congestion, pollution, waste, groundwater contamination and resource depletion.

By now the effects of our decision could have been reflected in the landscape with less sprawl. But instead sprawl continues to devour 1.1 million acres of valued farmland every year, according to the American Farmland Trust. The present cause of our nation's population surge is immigration. "Thirty million housing units," according to the authors, "will be needed by the year 2050 to accommodate the immigration boom." The 270 million U.S. residents of 1998 would grow to 314 million in 2050 if immigration were equal to the 225,000 people leaving the country. But, at present, the U.S. is admitting over one million immigrants annually. Under expected immigration levels, the 2050 U.S. population will swell to 400 million as it will continue to increase.

No one cares to think of the U.S. becoming a nation of 500 million, or, like China, one billion. Yet, on this issue even the compassionate environmentalist becomes a strange bedfellow with big business despite having a different agenda. Big business strives to maintain access to cheap foreign labor while the environmentalist wants to be seen as a welcoming humanitarian.

The higher fertility levels of recent immigrants has a subtle but profound impact on future population projections for the United States. According to the authors, it becomes the "invisible multiplier."

There is still another sprawl-inducing aspect to immigration policies. U.S. residents have a way of escaping the effects of unprecedented high levels of immigration. Garling and Mehlman call it "secondary migration." Recent immigrants are generally not settling into Portland, Seattle, or the "verdant rolling hills of Virginia's horse country." Yet, these areas are becoming more populated. Population pressures in those areas result from internal migration driven by regions with high immigration populations. This has been dubbed "white flight" by some demographers.

To fret about sprawl without addressing its fundamental cause (more people) is much like fussing about an overflowing sink without reaching for the faucet.

This handy text, with its ample supply of charts and photographs, is suitable for gift-giving to the reluctant environmentalist still unwilling to make the connection between immigration and sprawl TSC.

From the Philippines

The President of the Philippines, Joseph Estrada, threatened in May to defy the Roman Catholic Church's ban on birth control, saying that his country's rapid population growth had to be checked, according to a report in the news agency, *Agence France Press (AFP)*.

The President, a former movie star, once denounced birth control, saying that since he was the eighth child in his family, he would not have been born if contraceptives had been easily available before his birth. However, in a weekly radio interview, the agency reported, President Estrada said that, with a 2.3 percent population growth, the Philippines could have more than 100 million people in 25 years, from the current 72.9 million.

"This is a big problem. No matter how high our production is ... if our production of children is also high, we will always be short of classrooms, of basic services because our population is too large," AFP cites President Estrada as saying.

Reminded that the Catholic Church, to which most Filipinos belong, opposes artificial contraception, the President reportedly said: "We do not follow everything they tell us."

"We have to think about the welfare of the whole population of the Philippines. If they (the Church) are correct, we follow them, but they are not always correct. They are human and they make mistakes too."

President Estrada had previously stated that increased food production, not birth control, was the way to increased prosperity in the Philippines.

The Manila-based Asian Development Bank had warned in April that population growth could undermine any expansion of the economy and that the large population was partly to blame for high poverty and unemployment levels here.

— From *Populi*, the magazine of the United Nations Population Fund, vol. 26, no.2, June 1999

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Who's to Blame For Natural Disasters?

This report never mentions population growth

by Seth Borenstein

[*Editor's Note: We reprint this column as an example of the constant reporting of ever more losses of life and property in earthquakes and hurricanes — reporting which never mentions the fact of population growth. As biologist Garrett Hardin has remarked: "Nobody ever dies of overpopulation."*]

With natural disasters costing America about $1 billion a week and growing more expensive and catastrophic every year, the nation should dramatically shift the way it plans for and deals with such hazards, a new federal study recommends.

And with our patterns of urban development and high-tech construction, we're only setting the stage for worse disasters, warned the study.

Some experts disagreed with the warnings about construction.

"We are responsible for the losses we experience in natural disasters," said Colorado University Professor Dennis Mileti, lead author of the 351-page study Disasters by Design. "It's not God. It's not nature."

As more people move to more hazard-prone areas, "catastrophes, the really big ones, are getting larger," said Mileti, director of the Natural Hazards Research and Applications Information Center in Boulder, Colo.

Disasters are a growing problem. Seven of the nation's 10 costliest have struck in the past decade. Earthquake-shaken California, hurricane-hit Florida and just plain old dangerous Texas are most at risk, concludes the study, which was released Wednesday.

The five-year analysis was produced by 132 academic, government and private disaster experts and paid for by the National Science Foundation, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Environmental Protection Agency, the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S. Geological Survey.

"The extensive urbanization and high population density of Florida and California, coupled with their high-risk potential, Clearly explain their top rankings," the report said. "Texas also ranks high because of the sheer number and diversity of hazardous events that occur there as well as the state's large although more dispersed pattern of urbanization."

Despite the recent mayhem, deaths from hurricanes and other disasters are down in recent years because of better storm warnings, experts say. Overall, more than 24,000 people died from disasters between 1979 and 1994, the report said. Tornadoes account for more deaths than other disasters, Mileti said, because they are the hardest to prepare for.

The report urged a shift away from development in dangerous areas and disaster-resistant construction toward reliance on environmental planning aimed at making cities more "sustainable" during disasters.

Cities also must face the fact that there's no way to totally prevent deaths and damage from disasters, and thus should live with nature instead of trying to challenge it, the report suggests.

Some of the high-tech engineering used to prevent or cope with disasters — like building dams and using earthquake-proof construction

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***Seth Borenstein** writes for the* Miami Herald *in their Washington Bureau.* *This article is reprinted with permission from the May 20, 1999 edition.*

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methods — are only postponing and increasing the damage from the inevitable, the report claimed in its most controversial section.

People can't "solve" the problem of disasters, especially by building stronger and smarter buildings, Mileti said. Such construction will only make matters worse when what he calls the inevitable "lollapalooza" of a disaster strikes, such as a four-minute earthquake in the San Francisco Bay or a very powerful hurricane through South Florida.

Mileti used the example of San Francisco rebuilding after earthquakes in the 19th and 20th centuries. Each rebuilding came with promises of earthquake-proof technology, such as adobe or brick, Mileti said. But if the 30-second Northridge earthquake of 1994 had lasted a minute or more, engineering studies indicate, many Southern California steel high-rise buildings would have fallen because they stressed so much in the shorter quake.

"That's nonsense," said Frank Koutnik, policy and planning chief for the Florida Division of Emergency Management. "You don't want to be lulled into a false sense of security because of technology, but I think building enhancements can have a tremendous loss-reduction impact."

Koutnik pointed to Sullivans Island in South Carolina after 1989's Hurricane Hugo. Row after row of buildings were leveled, but a properly designed one on the beach barely had anything more than shingle damage.

Jane Bullock, chief of staff for FEMA, said that while most of Mileti's report was right, her agency strongly disagrees with its conclusion on technology. People still should use the most current technology to build "stronger and safer, she said.

Modern building codes and a massive retrofit program are keeping most buildings safe in California, said Jack Boatwright, a U.S. Geological Survey geophysicist who runs project Earthquake Effect in the Silicon Valley.

People can build houses that will be safe to live in — though sustain some damage — during hurricanes, said Clemson University civil engineering Professor Peter Sparks, an expert on wind damage during storms. Most of the damage is from subpar construction, he said.

But such philosophies only encourage people to believe they can control nature, Mileti said.

"Sometimes technology lulls people into a false sense of security, whether it be in an earthquake-proof building or behind a levee," said Steve Ellis, coastal program coordinator for the environmental group Coast Alliance, which was not part of the study. "People feel like they're safe, which isn't necessarily the case. Mother Nature holds the cards."

For example, barrier islands such as Miami Beach and North Carolina's Outer Banks "are Mother Nature's punching bags," Ellis said. "We're putting ourselves in harm's way."

Florida's Koutnik said we have to be realistic: "People are going to live in these places. You are not going to prohibit people from living in these hazardous places. That is the pipe dream."

Mileti, who just built a house on the San Andreas Fault, said he doesn't want to move people out of hazardous areas. But he said people living in such places should have their eyes open to what could befall them, and the government shouldn't pay federal flood insurance subsidies to make it easier for them to do so.

In addition, the private insurance industry isn't doing enough to make people think about risks when they build and move, said one of the study's co-authors, Howard Kunreuther, co-director of the Wharton School's Center of Risk Management and Decision Processes.

Insurance premiums, especially in places like California and Florida, are too low and don't really represent the risk the company is taking, said Kunreuther, author of a companion book to the report called *Paying the Price.*

Insurance companies should offer incentives — along with banks providing cheap financing — to help people retrofit homes to be stronger for hurricanes and earthquakes, Kunreuther said. TSC

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Balkan War Shows Ethnicity Still Matters

Important or not? We can't have it both ways.

by Samuel Francis

After two and a half months of the most recent war to make Europe safe for global democracy, you'd think that U.S. senators would start to get it, but evidently some don't. One who doesn't get it — the real purpose of the Clinton-NATO war in the Balkans, that is — is Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas, who unveiled her ideas about how to end the war and avoid future ones in *USA Today* last week. In fact, her ideas make a good deal of sense, but it's clear she still doesn't get it.

Hutchison thinks the way to end the war is to "nudge our European allies to help us create conditions that reflect the self-determination of the people of the region" — the Balkans. What that means is new states based on ethnicity.

The senator is pretty explicit about ethnic states, writing that "self-determination could mean redrawing borders, perhaps leading to majority Albanian, Serbian, Croatian and secular Muslim states. Organizing a democracy around ethnic or religious groupings has many precedents in Europe and Asia, yet that opportunity is being denied the people of the Balkans.

> The ruling class of the new global order has conceived the idiotic notion that ethnicity no longer matters and is illegitimate anyway.

Well, now, a tip of the bonnet to Hutchison, who has discovered what just about everyone used to know but now has forgotten — that ethnicity matters and that it matters so much you can base entire nations on it and draw their borders around it. What she is proposing is precisely the way to achieve peace in the Balkans and just about everywhere else where ethnicity remains important.

But, like the kid who said the emperor wore no clothes, Hutchison managed to miss the point of the war. That point was most clearly stated by Gen. Wesley Clark, who remarked around the time the war began that "there is no place in modern Europe for ethnically pure states. That's a 19th century idea, and we are trying to transition into the 21st century, and we are going to do it with multiethnic states."

Clark's remark was probably the clearest expression of the war's real purpose, but it is by no means the only one. President Clinton, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and several other panjandrums have uttered similar pronouncements. Columnist Richard Cohen, always a reliable source for liberal inanities, writes: "The original justification for this war was a good one. It was to say, in no uncertain terms, that genocide or ethnic cleansing is impermissible."

Leaving aside the obvious reply that genocide and ethnic cleansing happen and have happened through history and that no one has ever gone to war to stop them for that reason alone, what Hutchison is proposing, while not exactly the same thing as forcing one ethnic group out of territory claimed by another, is somewhat similar.

Both concepts presuppose the legitimacy and importance of

***Samuel Francis** is a syndicated columnist.* *This article, © 1999, is reprinted with permission from Creators Syndicate.*

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"...America will prove [in the 21st century] that we literally can live without in effect having a dominant European culture. We want to become a multiracial, multiethnic society. We're not going to disintegrate in the face of it."
— President Clinton

ethnic identity, and it is in this presupposition that they both are totally at odds with the stated purposes of the war and of the new global order that wages it.

In that order, particular identities — race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, cultural tradition, class, gender and any other category that distinguishes one "person" from another — will be forbidden. There are enough statements on record from the architects and prophets of this new order to know that national sovereignty itself will have vanished. And the order will not just be somewhere else, it will be everywhere, including in what used to be the United States.

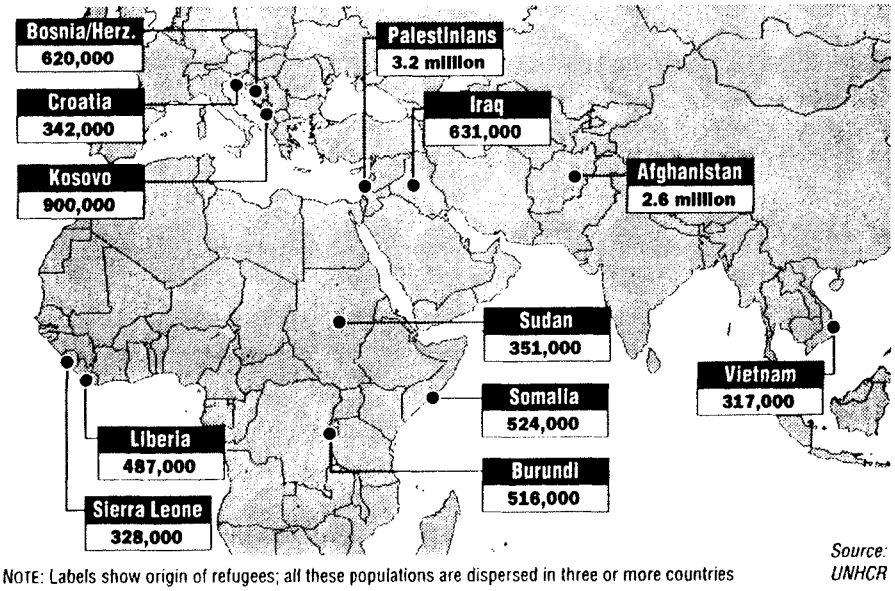
That is essentially what Clinton meant when he told a group of journalists in 1997 that in the 21st century America will "prove that we literally can live without in effect having a dominant European culture. We want to become a multiracial, multiethnic society. We're not going to disintegrate in the face of it."

Of course, it's by no means clear we won't disintegrate, just as the Balkans and other "multiracial, multiethnic societies" have disintegrated. It is rather more likely the United States will go the same way at some point in the future than that we will all just get along in the fictitious Clintonian utopia.

The way to avoid that future is to do precisely what Senator Hutchison proposes — redraw the borders of existing nations so those "population groups," as races and ethnic groups are demurely called these days, that feel a common cultural and political identity can establish their own states and govern themselves.

But it's not going to happen, mainly because the ruling class of the merging global order has conceived the idiotic notion that ethnicity no longer matters and is illegitimate anyway. Until it abandons that fantasy, the genocides and ethnic cleansings that are supposed to be "impermissible" will be as much a part of the next century as they were of this one. TSC

Biggest Refugee Populations in the World



NOTE: Labels show origin of refugees; all these populations are dispersed in three or more countries

Source: UNHCR

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Ethnic Quilt Looks Frayed in Macedonia

'Country is hanging by a thread,' says one observer

by Alissa J. Rubin

SKOPJE, MACEDONIA

After Croatia came Bosnia. Bosnia was followed by Kosovo. Now tiny Macedonia could be another Kosovo, yet one more piece of the old Yugoslavia that is unable to contain its ethnic tensions without a towering figure like Marshal Tito to keep them in check.

Other Balkan powder kegs may ignite first. The republic of Montenegro is considering its own attempt at secession from Serbia-dominated Yugoslavia.

But Montenegro is not riven by competing ethnic groups in the tradition of Croatia (Croats vs. Serbs), Bosnia-Herzegovina (Serbs vs. Croats vs. Muslims) and Kosovo (Serbs vs. ethnic Albanians).

In Macedonia, by contrast, the dominant Macedonian Slavs made up about 65 percent of the population, and ethnic Albanians accounted for 23 percent.

And that was before 250,000 ethnic Albanian refugees inundated the country from Kosovo after NATO started its air war March 24. About 170,000 of them have already rushed back into the province since the war ended earlier this month, easing- but not eliminating — the Macedonian Slavs' fear that the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia will try to join with their brethren in Albania and Kosovo to create a Greater Albania.

"Macedonia is hanging by a thread," says David Holderidge, the regional director for Catholic Relief Services, who has worked in the Balkans for the past decade. "It wouldn't take much for this place to divide down the middle, with the Macedonians on one side and the Albanians on the other, and that pulls in Greece and Turkey and there's open war."

In one sign of the importance that the West attaches to Macedonia, President Clinton stopped here Tuesday [June 22] on his way home from a week of summit-level conferences elsewhere in Europe.

Despite its heritage as the homeland of Alexander the Great, Macedonia has been a nation for only eight years. For that period it has teetered on the edge of becoming the next center of Balkan bloodletting.

"The nightmare scenario is that the country will be destabilized, and the four countries around us will pick us apart and that will be the end of Macedonia," said Zoran Andonovski, external affairs officer for the World Bank office in Skopje, Macedonia's capital.

Macedonia lies at the intersection of the two political axes that run through the Balkans: the Orthodox Christian axis that runs from Serbia to Greece and the Muslim axis that runs from Turkey to Albania. All these countries as well as Bulgaria have claimed Macedonia as their territory over the last 2,000 years, and each would like to have it back.

U.S. diplomats are trying to help in the only way they know how — with money. They have been pushing to deliver millions of dollars to Macedonia in the hope of averting internal strife. So far, the United States has delivered only a relative pittance: $21 million to a country whose economy has been devastated by the war.

Most of the losses result from the termination of trade with Yugoslavia, which was the country's second-largest trading

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***Alissa J. Rubin** is a staff writer with the* Los Angeles Times.
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partner as well as its largest supplier of raw materials. Macedonia's economy is contracting at an annual rate of 4 percent this year, economists estimate, and more than one-third of its work force is unemployed.

As the economy has fallen, ethnic tensions have risen. The dominant Macedonians are alarmed by ethnic Albanians' recent demand that their constitutional status be upgraded from that of a protected minority to that enjoyed by Macedonian Slavs. They see it as a signal that they want expanded influence in all spheres controlled by the government — especially jobs and educational policy.

It is hard to overstate the extent to which ethnic divisions govern every aspect of life and politics in Macedonia. The Albanian Macedonian minority and the Macedonian Slav majority live starkly segregated lives — a division that was only heightened by the war across the border in Kosovo.

The two groups speak different languages, practice different religions (Macedonian Slavs are largely Orthodox Christian, while the Albanian Macedonians are mostly Muslim), and they live in different parts of the country.

Even Skopje is divided by the Vardar River, with most ethnic Albanians living on one side, marked by mosques and a rambling bazaar, and most Macedonians on the other, with the Orthodox cathedral and government headquarters.

"By 2010, the Macedonians will be a minority in their own country, and we should not allow that to happen." — Straso Angelovski, The Movement for Pan-Macedonian Action

Few Albanian children go to Macedonian schools, and the Albanian university is illegal, its degrees not recognized by the government. Ethnic intermarriage is almost unheard of.

"There is a heritage of xenophobia between the ethnic communities in the Balkans," said Arben Xhaferi, the leader of the Albanian political party that is part of the government's ruling coalition. "The Albanians are the victims now. We want to protect our lives, our culture, our identities."

While neither Xhaferi nor other Albanian leaders in the government preach the separatism that the Macedonians fear, they do want equal rights.

That is unacceptable to the extreme nationalists who are pushing to win a place in the ruling coalition in the next election. They view Albanians as little more than terrorists, plotting to take over the country.

"All of ... the ethnic Albanians, are involved with" the Kosovo Liberation Army, said Straso Angelovski, who heads the Movement for Pan-Macedonian Action.

"By 2010, the Macedonians will be a minority in their own country," said Angelovski, "and we should not allow that to happen .... If the refugees [from Kosovo] do not all leave, it will happen even sooner."

The war only heightened the mistrust between the two groups. Ethnic Albanians in Macedonia were dismayed that few Macedonians opened their homes to the Kosovo refugees.

"There were a few Macedonian families who knew refugees through business dealings, who took them in, but very few," said Abdurauf Prusi, the president of E1 Hilal, an ethnic Albanian aid agency in Macedonia that helped refugees find shelter.

In the small town of Struga, ethnic Albanians held rallies supporting the war on one side of the main street while pro-Serbian Macedonians marched down the other side.

In Skopje, Macedonian taxi drivers organized convoys to drive across the Yugoslav border every Saturday at dawn to give blood for Serbian soldiers injured in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization campaign against Yugoslavia.

"Macedonia did too much to help the Albanian refugees," said Atalic Dijana, 28, who was riding in one of the taxis. "They should have gone to Albania to get help. It's no wonder other countries don't want them. They know who

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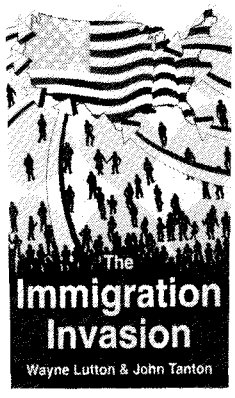

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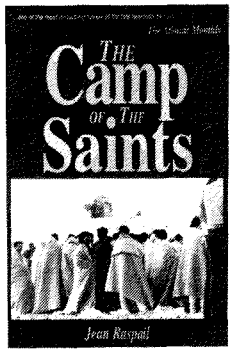

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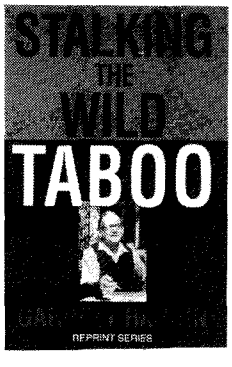

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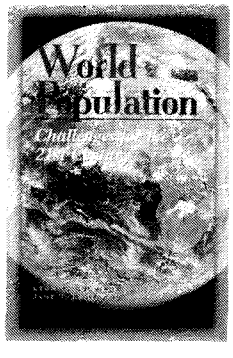

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immigration, language and national unity.

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Roy Beck

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Roy Beck

Pro-immigration propagandists have a list of claims and cliches they effectively use to silence opposition. Quite often these are nothing more than statements, heavy on sentiment and light on logic. Roy Beck has rendered the immigration reform movement a great service by taking these assertions and shooting them down, one by one, with well-reasoned arguments and support from appropriate authorities.

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Roy Beck's "charts and gumballs" in several versions for various audiences

Immigration by the Numbers

This tightly edited video of Roy Beck's charts and gumballs demonstration before a college audience dramatically demonstrates the magnitude of U.S. demographic change caused by current immigration policies.

A two-minute introduction shows the difficult of debating the immigration issue and how this presentation lays out the issue humanely.

An Environmental Choice: Immigration By the Numbers

This version contains the same Roy Beck feature presentation but surrounded by an introduction and postscript that are explicitly from an environmentalist perspective. Documentary-style footage has Monique Miller of Wild Earth as the on-screen host and guest commentary by Sen. Gaylord Nelson, the Father of Earth Day.

Running time: 24 minutes

Too Close for Comfort

A 27-minute documentary that includes Roy Beck's charts and gumballs presentation in five short segments. Interspersed are fact screens, interviews and narrated documentary footage from the schools, workplaces and neighborhoods where immigration is high. Examines how America's quality of life is changing. Roy's segment with the gumballs about the ethical rationale behind immigration reduction is moved to near the beginning of this tape.

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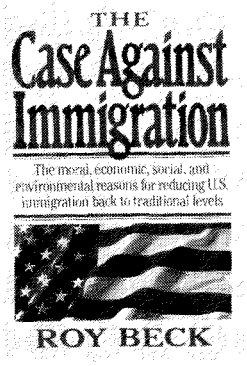
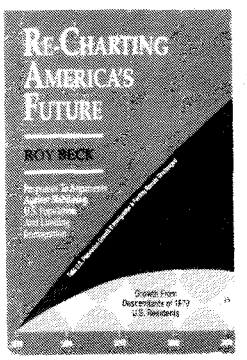
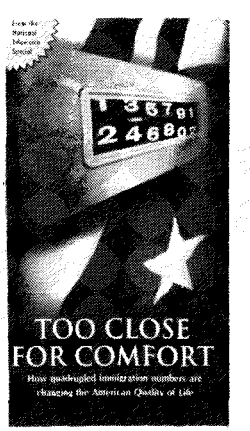

THE
Case Against Immigration
The moral, economic, social, and environmental reasons for reducing U.S. immigration back to traditional levels
ROY BECK





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they are — they are the biggest Mafiosi in the world."

The prospect of an outright civil war still seems remote to many Macedonians, if only because they have avoided it so far. But as Vladimir Milcin scanned a newspaper with reports of a bomb that exploded a few feet from a mosque in the ethnic Albanian section of Skopje, severely injuring two people, he shook his head.

"Terrorism is coming," said Milcin, the director of the Open Society Institute, funded by Hungarian American financier and philanthropist George Soros.

"Ordinary people are not just uneasy but scared, and so it's much easier to manipulate them, to sell any story to them .... We're seeing a soft beginning of hysteria on a mass scale." TSC

The Mass Displacement of European Americans

Extraordinary change produced by immigration policy

by Paul Craig Roberts

Recently a federal judge wrote to me. The judge enclosed a list of new citizens for whom he had conducted a naturalization ceremony. He was astounded that among almost 100 new citizens there were only four or five Europeans.

Immigration policy has produced an extraordinary change in the ethnic composition of the U.S. population. Experts tell me it has been three decades since Europeans comprised a significant percentage of new citizens. In 1965 the Democrats, who lost the South, changed the immigration rules in order to build African, Asian and Hispanic constituencies that would vote Democratic.

In effect, native-born U.S. citizens are being "ethnically cleansed," not by violence but by their own immigration policy.

> "The United States will face ethnic divides that exceed those in Kosovo and the Balkans." — Yeh Ling-Ling

With the United States taking in 1.2 million immigrants annually, and with that number again entering illegally, cultural homogeneity has been the casualty.

When I first came to Washington, D.C. 25 years ago, the only international-looking people one saw were in the diplomatic community. Now it is every third person. A person can now duplicate the experiences of world travel by just touring the neighborhoods inside the D.C. Beltway. It is much the same in most cities.

Recent immigrants who favor the melting pot are themselves alarmed. Yeh Ling-Ling, executive director of Diversity Alliance for a Sustainable America, believes we need a time-out from mass immigration in order to permit assimilation; otherwise, the United States will face ethnic divides that exceed those in Kosovo and the Balkans.

Yeh Ling-Ling reports that recently the Jewish principal of a predominately Latino school in San Fernando Valley was beaten unconscious by assailants who told him: "We don't want you here anymore, white principal."

Native-born white liberals use "diversity" to justify mass immigration beyond the ability of the melting pot to assimilate. But

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Paul Craig Roberts is a columnist for The Washington Times *and is nationally syndicated. This June 21, 1999 article is reprinted by permission.*

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the unassimilated immigrants are not as tolerant of diversity as their white liberal spokespersons. Mario Obledo, co-founder of the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund, said on a radio program that Hispanics are going to take over all the political institutions of California and anyone who does not like it should leave.

In Dearborn, Mich., school fights have erupted between Arabs and non-Arabs, in New Jersey between Koreans and non-Koreans, in Maryland communities between Russian immigrants and native-born U.S. citizens, in Lexington, Ky., between blacks and Hispanics.

The formerly all-white community of Cupertino, Calif., has been so overrun by Chinese immigrants that the school board debated a Mandarin-immersion kinder-garten class. Thai A. Nguyen-Khoa, a U.S. history teacher in San Francisco, has written about the conflict resulting from consigning Vietnamese immigrants to black housing projects.

There is a lot to be said in behalf of individual immigrants. I recently wrote about one, Juana Vasquez, a brave woman who stood up to the native-born white liberals who were acting out their fantasies by conducting a child sex abuse witch hunt in Wenatchee, Wash., and sending innocent parents to prison.

A sterling aspect of Third World immigrants is their lack of illusions about government. Unlike native-born liberals, non-European immigrants have been taught by experience to see government as the obstacle, not the path, to happiness.

"One downside to the massive non-European immigration is that, thanks to the liberals' civil rights policies, every one of these immigrants enters the United States as a 'preferred minority' with legal privileges that native-born citizens of European origin do not have."

When one encounters Third World immigrants as employees in government bureaucracies, they are often noticeably less officious than their white counterparts. In the end, the live-and-let-live Third World culture of bribery might be what saves us from increasingly intrusive government.

One downside to the massive non-European immigration is that, thanks to the liberals' civil rights policies, every one of these immigrants enters the United States as a "preferred minority" with legal privileges that native-born citizens of European origin do not have. For racial reasons unrelated to merit or competitive performance, every non-European immigrant is entitled to privileged consideration in university admissions, employment, promotions and government contracts.

It is impossible for the melting pot to work when new immigrants have a "preferred" status that the majority of native-born citizens do not have. People on whom legal privileges are conferred eventually feel like a privileged class and begin acting like one.

Mario Obledo is not the only one who believes native-born citizens are losing their country. Others see the demise of the native-born in a recent occurrence in Richmond, Va. There a city councilman, Sa'ad El-Amin, has forced the removal of a mural of Robert E. Lee, the most beloved of all Virginians.

When I was a kid even Northerners respected Robert E. Lee. Not a word was heard against him. But Sa'ad El-Amin compares Gen. Lee to Adolf Hitler.

Does this lack of good will toward "white culture" mean the portraits of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson will be removed from our currency and their historic homes, Mount Vernon and Monticello, closed? If mass immigration means the extinction of American culture, we had best rethink it. TSC

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Tribalism in Modern Africa

The future is ominous for the masses of people

by Anthony Lavers

After months of bluster, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe has abandoned his threat to confiscate white-owned farms without compensation and promised to run a legal and just land reform program, which will not destroy the modern farming sector.

Mr. Mugabe's radical policy change does not stem from a born-again commitment to liberal justice. The more prosaic reason is that the International Monetary Fund told him that the loans his government needs to survive will dry up if he takes over the productive farms built up by whites over the past century.

Nor was the IMF influenced by sympathy with white settlement: it simply recognized that Zimbabwe's shaky economy would collapse without the export earnings from white farms. If that happens, the billions of dollars it has loaned Mugabe's regime will never be repaid.

After some 20 years of misgovernment Mugabe's black followers are becoming increasingly restless. High prices and low job expectations have turned trade unionists, students and the small black middle-class from ardent support to riotous hostility. Even the army, which Mugabe depends on to damp down unseemly public emotion, is getting fed up with late pay and the dispatch of some of its best units to bolster another dictatorial regime in the Congo.

Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia got rid of most of their white farmers 40 years ago by compulsory purchase. The murder of nearly 600 white farmers in 1998 indicates some of South Africa's blacks have the same aims.

But the wish to get rid of white farmers raises perplexing questions for the 60-odd African countries, which gained independence after 1967. Will they become self-supporting members of the world community or slump into poverty? Is the "African renaissance" a mask for continental regressions? Will they develop societies based on the rule of law or degenerate into the brutal tribal systems from which they emerged only a century or so ago?

The IMF has forced President Mugabe to face fiscal reality. For the time being, white farming is safe and an economy which was once sturdy enough to resist sanctions, and has recently survived on foreign aid, will continue to function.

Outside Zimbabwe there is liberal sympathy for the African desire to get rid of the whites, mainly of British and South African stock, who settled a sparsely populated area between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers in the 1890s, called it Rhodesia and dominated it for 70 years. Zimbabwe's remaining white farmers occupy about a third of the country's arable land from which they produce 80 percent of the country's exports, including the quality tobacco, which is its top foreign exchange earner.

There is no restriction on black purchases of white farms on a willing buyer-seller basis, but so far the government has bought few of what it calls "commercial farms" and most of those have gone to politicians instead of the landless peasants Mugabe is pledged to help.

The president is a university-educated, Westernized individual well aware that the schools, health services and higher living standards his people need depend on a thriving economy. Why, then, should he break up the farms earning so much foreign exchange, especially as there are abandoned properties and undeveloped land available for peasant resettlement?

Mugabe's policies may mystify outsiders, but are easily

***Anthony Lavers** wrote this report for* The Adelaide (Australia) Review. *It is reprinted here with his permission.*

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understood in terms of the African attachment to land. This is as strong as the links between Australian Aborigines and the land they occupied, but whereas Aborigines did not recognize individual ownership, this concept is basic to the social structure of the Bantu-speaking tribes of east, central and southern Africa.

Bantu is the generic name of a group of related languages spoken over most of the eastern seaboard of Africa. Bantu-speaking peoples are thought to have originated in Ethiopia and gradually moved southward, reaching as far as the Transkei in South Africa as recently as the seventeenth century.

Where the land was lush and fertile as in the Kikuyu districts of Kenya and Zululand in South Africa, the movement was slow, but in dryer areas the tribes practiced shifting cultivation, clearing forests for crops and moving on when the soil became exhausted.

Bantu people measure wealth in cattle, sheep and goats, but their prime interest is in land for tilling. Before the fifteenth century their staple grain was sorghum, but this was soon replaced by maize, sweet potatoes and other South American crops introduced by the Portuguese.

The key element in these societies is family land ownership. There is constant dispute over it and as late as the 1890s Kikuyu clans often fought each other over land claims.

The male head of each family owned the land and on his death it was divided equally among his sons. This inheritance system worked well enough while the population was kept low by warfare and disease, but when European rule enforced inter-tribal peace and inoculations wiped out diseases such as bubonic plague and smallpox, populations increased beyond their land's capacity to support them.

Kenya's population growth was typical: when the British took over in 1895 the population was around two million in an area the size of France. By 1939 it had risen to five million and thirty years later to ten million.

It is now around 22 million and only epidemic diseases such as AIDS and malaria are slowing its growth.

Population pressures drained the land's fertility. A ten-acre block would feed a family well and produce a cash surplus, but when that holding was divided among six or seven sons the resulting fragments could not support new families and their male members would seek work in the towns, creating the squalid slums which disfigure every sub-Saharan city.

When Kenya became independent in 1963 the British government bought out and divided white farms for peasant settlement. Relief from land hunger was short-lived because the white farming districts made up only 6 percent of the country's total land area, though they produced 85 percent of its exports.

The settlers' farms were highly mechanized, but their heavy clay soils were unsuitable for the peasants' hoes and simple ploughs. Production from the subdivided holdings fell sharply. From being a net exporter of meat and grain, Kenya became dependent on food imports. This dependence has grown with the spiraling population and so have urban slums and mass unemployment.

Paid work and the mutual help of the extended family system avoid starvation, but almost all Africans, regardless of their education or income, still long for land. A family's holding represents its food supply, social status, bank balance and old age pensions rolled into one. I once asked an African colleague in Nairobi where the money would come from for hospitals, education and such sought-after prizes as cars after whites had left the country.

He shrugged:

Who cares? Why worry about hospitals? If you get sick, either you die or you get better. If you die you can't worry, and if you get better you're all right. What do schools teach that we really want to know? As for cars, we used to walk long distances and we can do it again. But what we do need is land. That's why you whites must go.

We used to be few and now we are many. What is an African family without land

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and grazing for its stock?
With land we are rich.
Without it we are worthless.

If an educated man wealthy enough to drive a Mercedes can feel that way, how much more so Africa's millions of illiterate peasants?

While the tiny elites who now rule Africa are likely to prosper whatever happens, the future is ominous for the mass of the people. No Kenyan alive today can remember the coming of the first Europeans, but in 1955 I met an old man of the Kamba tribe in the Machakos district who as a little boy witnessed the arrival of the first railway survey party. He had been terrified by the "white ghosts" in the survey team.

I asked him whether he regretted what followed — the arrival of the British administration, then the colonists and various forms of humiliating discrimination. Didn't he want to return to the time when his people lived by their own laws without interference from foreigners? His answer astonished me:

No, I would not like to see those days again because we lived in fear.

Fear of the marauding Masai warriors who bloodied their spears on Kamba herdboys. Fear of famine caused by drought or locusts. And the most traumatic fear of all — the terror of witchcraft, which pervaded his community and was said to kill people as surely as poisoned arrows.

As we end this century it seems that something very like the ancient way of life rejected by that old Kamba farmer is returning to Africa. Only three of the sixty or so sub-Saharan nations have escaped internecine violence and none are free of corruption. For nearly all of them democracy is a hollow farce. Not one of them is economically better off than it was as a colony, not even Nigeria with its enormous wealth from oil.

Countries such as the Congo, Somalia and Sierra Leone have become the continent's basket cases, disrupted by the kind of inter-tribal warfare which wracked the old societies. The main difference is that the tribes now use automatic weapons instead of spears and bows and the death toll is many times higher.

"...when European rule enforced inter-tribal peace and inoculations wiped out diseases such as bubonic plague and smallpox, populations increased beyond their land's capacity to support them."

African politicians realize this, but none has had the courage to tell his people it is impossible for every family to own land and that most people must live by paid employment under legal systems which protect the foreigners on whom their prosperity will depend for several more generations.

South Africa, with some five-and-a-half million whites in a population of 35 million, is Africa's only industrialized state. After four years of black rule violent crime is causing economic and social disruption and formerly excellent hospitals are disintegrating from shortage of staff and money, with tragic results for sick people.

Thabo Mbeki, who will take over from President Mandela later this year, must find lasting solutions to these problems. To restore his country's former prosperity he will have to punish rampant corruption. To raise local and overseas confidence he must support and protect the white farmers who feed the nation and the industrialists who earn its national income. By doing so he will risk unpopularity with land-hungry blacks, but failure to act now will lead to national disintegration and the chilling possibility of an inter-racial civil war.

Will he have the courage to lead a genuine multiracial democracy? The world should have the answer within five years. TSC

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Amnesty — Shamnesty

Congress and the administration use language for an end-run around immigration regulations

by William Buchanan

In the early 1970s, Rep. Peter Rodino, then Chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee, proposed legislation that would discourage illegal immigration by imposing employer sanctions. Immediately, there were demands (from opponents) that in the event of passage, legal status must be granted to illegals who had put down "roots" here. There was some justice to this since up to that time America had condoned illegal immigration by making no serious effort to control it.

IRCA.

A decade later, in 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act ([RCA). It provided for both employer sanctions and legal status for long-term resident illegal aliens. Unfortunately, proponents abused the English language by calling the latter an "amnesty."

Employer sanctions, as codified in the IRCA, proved to be a complete bust — they were simply unenforceable, as written. At the same time, however, illegal aliens from all over the world descended upon America and an unprepared INS. They flashed false documents and claimed to have harvested cucumbers from trees and dug bananas from the earth. Over 2,700,000 illegals got green cards — far more than anyone could have imagined.

More Illegals Arrive.

Following, as on a conveyor belt, were the spouses and children of the newly-credentialed aliens. These new illegals settled-in, awaiting the availability of family preference visas. Their friends back home, understandably, got the impression that the U.S. was incapable of enforcing its new immigration law and that more so-called amnesties were likely.

This seemed to be confirmed when "Temporary Protected Status (TPS)," included in the 1990 Immigration Act, was used to delay deportation of illegal Central Americans. How can we return people home, we were asked, in the midst of a civil war? These countries are bankrupt, we were told, and only the remittances of the illegals kept them afloat.

"Pent-up demand" finally resulted in "relief' when 150,000 Nicaraguan and Central American illegals were green-carded in 1997, long after the end of the civil wars. And 50,000 Haitians were similarly accommodated in 1998.

Now Clinton is said to be considering green cards for 240,000 (or is it 600,000?) more illegals from Central America. We can't send them back, we are told, after the devastation of Hurricane Mitch. These countries are bankrupt, we are told, and only the remittances of the illegals keep them afloat.

Opponents sometimes refer to these as "rolling amnesties" in an effort to attach a pejorative connotation to the activity. We propose the use of a new word, *shamnesty,* to describe this antic federal behavior. So what is the difference between an amnesty and a shamnesty?

Forgiveness and Reward

Amnesty, as normally defined, implies forgiveness. It has a positive connotation. It removes the penalty for committing a crime. A shamnesty goes much further — it also rewards the violators.

A tax amnesty, for example, forgives violators for not paying

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taxes in a timely manner but still requires the taxes be paid. Draft dodgers received an amnesty sometime after the Viet Nam war ended but they were not granted VA benefits. America routinely forgives (amnesties) illegal aliens for breaking our laws but then goes on to reward them with the most treasured of all gifts — *legal immigrant status and the right to become a U.S. citizen in five years!*

Amnesties Are Self-Limiting

Amnesty is an administrative convenience applied to an offense that is unlikely to be repeated. This is because new offenders are likely to get caught and penalties are severe — heavy fines and/or imprisonment.

Shamnesties Encourage More Violations

Punishment for illegal immigration, on the other hand, hardly deserves the name. If the alien can be identified, and if the alien is caught, and *if a* penalty is imposed on the alien, it will consist of denial of legal entry for a period of time. Big Deal! Shamnesties are therefore granted to people who have nothing to lose and, experience shows, much to be gained. They encourage yet more violations — more illegal immigration.

Saying 'No'

The fact is that we will *never* get a handle on illegal immigration until we make it clear that shamnesties are a thing of the past. It will now take at least a century of saying "No" to get our point across.

The Word Game

As noted above, the word "amnesty" has a positive connotation It is employed to sugar-coat rather than describe. When immigration reformers use it, they are unwittingly playing the open-immigration lobby's game.

Ironically, it is in the nature of this game that the subject of amnesty must always be raised first by immigration reformers. The various shadow scams under which illegals gain some intermediate status eventually arouse the suspicions of the reformers. They invariably describe what they see as the seismic signature of yet another "amnesty." The other side is mum until they slip the shamnestv into some obscure wormhole of an appropriations bill.

We must stop playing the open-immigration lobby's game by using their preferred language We must arm ourselves with a new English word: *Shamnesty.* Shamnesty is shameful! It is a sham of an amnesty — a shameful sham of an amnesty!

TSC

Leftists Have Servants?

WSJ tweaks liberals about their affluent behavior

by Jonathan Kaufman

The last thing Robert Edelman, a history professor, expected to come home to was a live-in maid. "When I was growing up, I didn't think I would be a landlord and employing servants, and here I am doing it," says Mr. Edelman, a self-described leftist who teaches at the University of California at San Diego. Along with a maid, he and his wife, Victoria, employ a part-time gardener and a pool cleaner. Mrs. Edelman, a financial planner who commutes to work by train, recently hired a woman with a car to drive her between the train station and her job.

Buoyed by a robust economy and a surging stock market, more Americans, particularly dual-income couples like the Edelmans, are paying others to cook, clean, mow, weed, drive and mind the children, among many other chores. Last year, the number of servant-type jobs —

Jonathan Kaufman is a staff reporter with The Wall Street Journal. *© 1999 by Dow Jones & Company, Inc. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.*

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nannies, maids, gardeners, pool cleaners, butlers, cooks — grew 8 percent to almost 1.8 million, more than five times the rate of overall job growth, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. And that probably undercounts the use of domestic help, since it doesn't include illegal immigrants. Newport Domestic Agency, a Southern California company that places cooks, butlers, nannies and housekeepers, says business is up 20 percent annually in the past two years. "The stock market is over 10,000, we have the lowest unemployment in 25 years — the money is there," says Roman Machutt, the company's owner.

The rich, of course, have always had help. Before World War II, many middle-class families had full-time maids as well. But the widespread use of domestics, especially live-in help, ended after the war as the waves of immigrants who had filled domestic jobs, especially the Irish in the Northeast, subsided, and many blacks left domestic work.

Today, people from all walks of life have help. Among recent clients at Maria America, a Southern California agency that places housekeepers, nannies and other domestic help: a plumber, a Pizza Hut manager and a cashier at Costco.

The current boom in domestic help is fueled not just by the growing wealth of the middle and upper middle class, but also by the abundance of illegal immigrants, particularly in California and Texas, willing to accept extremely low wages for domestic work. In Southern California, for example, an undocumented immigrant working as a live-in housekeeper earns just $150 a week, while an English-speaking maid who knows how to drive commands $300.

"This is the dirty secret of a lot of middle-class Californians. When labor gets this cheap, huge numbers of people are beneficiaries of illegal immigration."
— Professor Phil Kasinets
City University of New York

"This is the dirty secret of a lot of middle-class Californians," says Phil Kasinets, a professor at City University of New York. "When labor gets this cheap, huge numbers of people are beneficiaries of illegal immigration."

Here in Irvine, where most domestics are Mexican immigrants — legal and illegal — a popular book titled "How to Communicate With Your Spanish-speaking Help" offers phrases like "Don't pour grease down the garbage disposal" and "How long are you planning to stay in the USA?" New subdivisions in the area feature houses with separate quarters for live-in help.

"To have a domestic in this area has become a kind of sine qua non of social status in addition to economic well-being," says Mark Petracca, a professor of political science at the University of California here. He employs a live-in nanny but refuses to hire a gardener, making him the sole homeowner on his street, he says, to mow his own lawn. It reeks of a kind of imperial colonialism one can imagine present in Shanghai in 1920," the professor says.

Elsewhere in the area, biologist Judy Brusian and her husband, Carl Switzky, an engineer at Sun Microsystems, employ a part-time gardener, a man to clean the hot tub and a part-time housekeeper, all for less than $300 a month.

"When you add it up, it isn't that much money," Mrs. Brusian says, adding that she tries to compensate for the low salary. "When we give our cleaning lady a $100 bonus, she is so happy. They really need the money."

Many undocumented workers complain that their employers expect them to work long hours for little pay. "The people said I would only have to work from 8 to 6, but last night they didn't come home until 9 p.m. and I missed the last bus home," complains one housekeeper at

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Maria America, speaking in Spanish.

Diane Kees, a hospital executive in Irvine, felt so conflicted about taking advantage of locally available cheap labor that when it came time to hire a live-in housekeeper she decided on a woman from Canada. "I couldn't hire a Latina," she said, using Californians' term for a female Mexican immigrant. "I felt too guilty, too exploitive.

Ms. Kees and her husband, Ken, also employ a part-time gardener. "My grandfather must be turning in his grave that there are people mowing our lawn," says Mr. Kees, who is a software engineer. "We never had help when we were growing up. Up until a few years ago I mowed my own lawn ... But I dreaded racing home from work, scrambling to make dinner for the kids. Our careers have accelerated and this makes life so much easier."

Mr. Edelman, the history professor, says live-in help has changed his lifestyle in many ways: "You don't walk around naked and you don't fight with your wife." But he says balancing fast-paced professional life with a growing family — the Edelmans have three small children — requires live-in help. "It's been a necessity," he says.

He concedes the inequities of the arrangement. "You're basically taking advantage of their difficulty," he says. He won't say how much he pays his help but says he wishes he could afford to pay more.

Bridgett Klein, a mortgage broker, has a different view. She complains that while two years ago she was able to hire a full-time nanny for $150 a week, "now they want $300 and they're more particular about what they will and won't do." But Ms. Klein says she and her husband, who is in the music business, will hire someone because they prefer the flexibility full-time help gives their schedules.

Heather Keenan, who runs a special-events planning company in San Francisco, is also interviewing. She now employs a part-time gardener and a housekeeper. But after recently landing a big client, she began looking for a live-in "house manager" who will do the grocery shopping, cook, drive her seven-year-old daughter to lessons and do other chores.

Ms. Keenan is offering $12 to $15 an hour plus room and board. So far she hasn't found anyone because many in Silicon Valley are offering $20 an hour. Now she is flying applicants up from Southern California for job interviews.

"My therapist says that having someone live with you is completely different than having someone who comes in and leaves," Ms. Keenan says. Still, she adds: "I manage a business and I think I can manage my house in the same way."

People who only recently did all their own chores find that having domestic help can be a quickly acquired taste. Christopher Mears, a successful lawyer, was initially resistant to hiring help, telling his wife "that's what rich people do." But a few weeks ago he went golfing with a friend who had injured his back while bending over to clean a stain on the bedroom rug. "Why would you do that yourself?" Mr. Mears recalls asking his friend. "Why don't you hire someone? Why do you make all the money you make if you can't hire people to do it for you?"

Most employers pay their help in cash, avoiding Social Security taxes and questions about immigration status. But Jeffrey Wasserman, a health-policy consultant whose wife works for an Internet company, pays their full-time nanny's Social Security and has set up a retirement account for her. "Wages may be low, but people are competing on benefits to keep good help," he says.

Mr. Wasserman, who grew up in a household where the staff consisted of a weekly cleaning woman, says, "It's not unusual that I come home and find six people in my house" — the full-time nanny, a part-time nanny, a housekeeper, a gardener, a pool cleaner and a car washer. "We joke that we spend more time managing our staff than doing everything else."

One challenge: juggling schedules, so that the gardener, for example, finishes before the pool cleaner arrives. Otherwise, the gardener blows grass clippings into the pool. TSC

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Challenging Open Borders

A businessman confronts the WSJ

by Perry Lorenz

[*David Asman, editorial features editor of* The Wall Street Journal, *engaged in an e-mail correspondence with Perry Lorenz. This began with an e-mail about a Congressional townhall meeting.*]

LORENZ: At Congressman Zoe Lofgren's (D-CA) townhall meeting, with 70 in attendance, on February 18, I gave this speech.

> *I know this is a sensitive subject. But I believe it needs to be discussed.*
>
> *Every society in the world opposes the transformation of its racial composition. The Chinese, for example, consider the land of China to be theirs. Exclusively. And forever. They would not allow 10 million immigrants from India, or any place else. The idea of becoming a minority in their own country would never occur to them. The Indians feel the same way about their land. As do the Japanese and the Mexicans.*
>
> *What great harm would come to the world if the Americans had a piece of land that they could claim as their own, exclusively and forever.*
>
> *Unfortunately, Congress has a suicidal policy of massive immigration. By the middle of the next century, European Americans will be a minority, according to Census Bureau projections. A hundred years from now, China will still be Chinese; Mexico will still be Mexican. Down through the ranks, every country will maintain its nationality. But not America. America will not be recognizable. America will not even be European!*
>
> *But we don't have to go down this path. We can shut down immigration. Zero it out. We can preserve our European heritage.*

ASMAN replies: Haven't you ever heard of something called "the melting pot"? Your comparison of the U.S. with the insular quality of other nations is so transparent in revealing the bankruptcy of your argument that I'm amazed even you can't figure it out.

LORENZ: In 2050 we'll have 200 million European Americans and 200 million Third Worlders in the "melting pot". The historic "melting" of various European ethnic groups into the new European American nation was a successful process, now completed. It does not follow that we are now obligated to jettison our European heritage. But the Third Worlders must be very grateful that you are offering up our country for colonization.

The alternative analogy of "salad bowl" means endless ethnic conflict and eventual partition. Either way, Americans lose.

ASMAN: What in the hell do you think it is that distinguishes this great nation from underproductive nations like China or Mexico, or hopelessly rigid cultures like Japan? It certainly is NOT the "whiteness" of the U.S.

LORENZ: If by "whiteness" you mean our European heritage (Anglo in particular) then YES! Our nation had achieved its greatness and distinction prior to 1965. Our Founding Fathers, greatly admired for their wisdom, were uniformly of British descent. We were once known as "The British Colonies." That is our heritage, to which we Americans have added our own contribution.

The Japanese are rigid? Within 20 years of Commodore Matthew Perry's introduction, they had built a railroad. Thirty years after that, they sank the Russian navy. Within a single generation they rebuilt their society from the rubble of World War II. There are Third World countries, that due to culture, high

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fertility and overpopulation, will not emerge out of poverty in five generations, if ever. The Japanese have lasted thousands of years, and no doubt, will last thousands more, if they can keep out the immigrants.

ASMAN: It's the diversity of minds, backgrounds, talents, cultures, all focused on the unharnessed goal of reaching for and very often achieving their dreams. When a truly diverse group of people from all backgrounds with different ways of looking at things come together in a society that offers real opportunity to express their dreams, amazing things happen.

LORENZ: Ethnic conflict happens. The Greek Civilization was the result of the activities of a single ethnic group. It was not culturally or racially diverse. The Roman Empire was homogenous when rising and mixed with other European groups on the way down. The British Empire was the work of the British. While the British are a mixture of groups, relative to world standards, they are (or were) homogeneous.

Not all countries are homogeneous. "Underproductive" Mexico is 9 percent white, 60 percent mestizo, and 30 percent Amerindian. That's more diverse than Britain. And far less productive.

India is a caldron of ethnic diversity on the verge of breaking up into still smaller pieces (they are now at 3 countries on the subcontinent and counting). Not very productive either.

The examples of successful homogeneous societies and failed multicultural societies proves your theory of diversity to be wishful thinking.

ASMAN: Problems that seem insoluble begin to open up when looked at from different perspectives. And an economy prospers when folks from all different backgrounds begin to offer their own expertise and fit precisely into doing what they do best. It's called economic efficiency.

LORENZ: Homogeneous societies do have people with different perspectives and a variety of professional and intellectual backgrounds. This is what Georgie Ann Geyer says about the economic efficiency of multicultural societies in *Americans No More*:

> *When a multinational society has to accommodate so many different demands, which can include court procedures and public papers in many languages, in addition to actual changes in the laws to suit various cultural tastes, a country is inevitably bound not only to divide into conflictive camps but also to decline economically; there is simply no way that a country can with such expensive and disruptive demands, keep up with the much more easily functioning one-culture, one-language, and one-heritage countries* (pp.47,48).

Each ethnic group demands a bigger piece of the federal pie, and a bigger pie!

ASMAN: Yes, the welfare mentality is destructive of this. And, yes, we must return to a point where government steps back and stops trying to direct our behavior — where and how we move in the socio-economy — with our own hard-earned money.

LORENZ: Would you be willing to call for a five-year immigration moratorium until these deficiencies can be corrected?

ASMAN: People must be free to pursue their dreams unfettered by government restraints, and they must also be free to suffer the pains of their weaknesses in order to build their strengths and discover where they best fit in the socio-economy. And government should not try to accommodate all cultures. It's an impossible task anyway. Immigrants must struggle as our fathers did to conform to the American culture and become proficient in English. On these points we agree.

LORENZ: Earlier you said "cultural diversity" is an advantage. Now you say government should not accommodate all cultures, and immigrants must conform to American culture. It seems contradictory. What am I missing? For example, should the city of San Jose deny a parade permit for "Cinco de Mayo" and disappoint tens of thousands of Mexicans living here? Why allow people in, then demand that they become something they can not be: Americans. It seems heavy handed. Why not just keep them out? The claim that Western Civilization needs Third World immigrants seems rather far-fetched, don't you think?

ASMAN: But the diversity of minds and backgrounds is a crucial ingredient of the American dream.

LORENZ: In 1960, Miami was 90 non-Hispanic white.

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Now it is 10 percent. Americans want to escape diversity and live with their own kind.

ASMAN: It enriches both the quality and the quantity of our economic and social vitality.

LORENZ: I believe Western Civilization is rich in economic and social vitality. There is no basis for the contrary view.

ASMAN: Yes, there are bad apples in every bunch. But these are not unique to the current wave of immigrants. Think of the Tammany Hall Irish. Or the Sicilian Mafioso. Or German-American Bund organizers. Xenophobes can always point to these bad apples to prove that immigration is bad or to use it as a convenient excuse for their country's failings.

LORENZ: "Xenophobes?" How is it that the Left and the multiculturalists have such a rich vocabulary of epithets?

ASMAN: But the need for new minds and new hearts from all parts of the globe far outweighs the small-minded desire for ethnic purity. Only stagnation — cultural and economic stagnation — results from attempts to "purify" a country's ethnicity.

LORENZ: Humans evolved in homogeneous societies. That is our character. It's an arrangement that minimizes ethnic conflicts and eliminates numerous problems. Nations are sustained, in good times and bad, by a common ethnic descent. It binds a nation together. A nation, such as Japan, is a community of cousins. They have all intermarried among each other over the centuries and are now related to each other genetically and culturally. You could say they are one big family. To denigrate their relationship as one of "ethnic purity" is to reveal your lack of understanding of what a blood relationship is and what binds people together. People have a strong affinity for their families, and their relatives, and others in their ethnic, national and racial groups. It's in our genes. No amount of politically correct brain washing is going to eliminate it.

ASMAN: Any researcher will tell you that real innovation, bringing research to a new plateau, comes from having people with many different backgrounds focused on the same project. Yes, they must have a common, shared level of proficiency in basic research. One researcher, or even one group of researchers with exactly the same background, simply cannot innovate.

LORENZ: If by "different backgrounds" you mean culturally and racially diverse, then it's nonsense! Leonardo da Vinci was innovative. So were Newton, Bell, Edison and Ford. What they had in common was not "different backgrounds" or cultural diversity or racial diversity or Third World immigration. What they had in common was Western Civilization. It's our European culture that fosters innovation. Silicon Valley owes it founding and its success to our European culture. This attempt at crediting our success to diversity rather than our European heritage is very trendy. That is why prior to 1965 there were no theories to explain our success. Then the Third Worlders arrived along with a theory for our success.

ASMAN: That is why the Japanese, with all of their treasured ethnic purity, do very little innovative work and usually copy our innovations. They are good slave-like workers. But there is not the same kind of dynamic innovation in their system as there is in ours. Yes, it's "cleaner" than ours. But what kind of system would you really rather work within?

LORENZ: Like almost all people, I prefer my own culture. Therefore I object to its transformation by immigration. You may know of Jim Rogers, Wall Street legend and founder of Quantum Fund, teacher of finance at Columbia University, and a regular on CNBC Cable Network. You call it "diversity," he calls it "multiculturalism." Same thing. From his book *Investment Biker* (pp.303-4):

> *Multiculturalism — the philosophical, political, and pedagogical movement — will lead to the destruction of the United States as its borders are drawn today... We think we are exempt from universal laws, but we are not. People who think they are exempt from universal laws have a moral disease called hubris, frequently fatal. I am not trying to be clever or outrageous; this is simply history, the way the world has been ever since we've been recording it. Separatism is a fact of history at all times of economic distress.*

ASMAN: Thanks for your reply. I know Jimmy Rogers. He and I agree that this multiculturalism stuff is a

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bunch of crap.

LORENZ: Massive immigration is the fertilizer that feeds multiculturalism. Without it, multiculturalism would be a little fad among the leftists on a handful of campuses. Could there be a massive bilingual federal program if immigration were shut off in 1965? There would be no Spanish-speaking students to take advantage of it. Massive immigration without multiculturalism is not an option. Would you support a moratorium on immigration until multiculturalism can be substantially eradicated?

ASMAN: But he [Jimmy Rogers] certainly would NOT agree that Silicon Valley is just a product of our European culture.

LORENZ: The immigration law changed in 1965. Prior to 1970 there was not a significant number of immigrants in Silicon Valley. By 1970, Hewlett-Packard, Varian Associates, IBM, Fairchild and many other electronics firms were well established here. The nearby universities played an important role and they of course are very old. Thus Silicon Valley was founded and well established as a result of our European culture. Now the immigrants have flooded in to take advantage of a wonderful culture produced by Western Civilization. But there is no evidence to indicate that immigration was essential to continue what Americans had done so well to begin with.

ASMAN: It's a product of the ingenuity of human beings from all over. In fact, quite a few immigrants NOT from Europe were involved in the creation of that... just ask T. J. Rogers, head of CYPRUS in Silicon Valley, and one of the biggest supporters of unfettered immigration I know.

LORENZ: I have responded at length to T. J. Rodgers' arguments in a separate e-mail. It just seems so contrived and phony to me, that Western Civilization, which has gone from Kepler, to the steam engine, to the telegraph, to airplanes, and placing a man on the moon, suddenly requires Third World immigrants to continue its success. That is the ultimate in multi-racial and multicultural myths. Our "need" for Third Worlders occurs just when multiculturalism is in full swing. Immigration continues its search for justification. Have you noticed that you and the far-Left are in full agreement on open borders? The Left understands the destructive nature of immigration. The business Right hasn't figured it out yet.

ASMAN: That's the point. The people on the line [in Silicon Valley] disagree with you.

LORENZ: I've been a design engineer (with 7 patents) in Silicon Valley for 20 years. But being a CEO (or an engineer for that matter) does not make a person an expert on the consequences of displacing the Americans with foreigners on American soil. At one time businessmen brought slaves to this country because it was good for the bottom line. We've had problems because of that. Once again they are instituting a massive migration whose problems for society will echo down the corridors of time. CEOs are no more qualified to offer advice on migration than welfare recipients are on welfare policy.

ASMAN: And have you paid any attention to what's happened recently in LA? That city was brought back to life by immigration from non-European groups ... and these are folks who have much stronger family traditions than the spoiled, white teenage sons and daughters of European lineage.

LORENZ: Is this "dissolve the people and elect a new people?" Or "Third Worlders are more American than the Americans?" A father that would displace his own spoiled teenagers with other children does not deserve the title of "father," but he would certainly deserve the adjective of irresponsible. Our families must indeed be strengthened. But as you note, bringing in immigrants does not strengthen our (American) families.

They, who break up their families to come here, do not have strong family values. They have strong economic values. These are the people involved in chain migration. What about female genital mutilation, arranged marriages and other bizarre cultural practices? Doesn't sound like strong family values to me. And it certainly isn't European.

ASMAN: I do appreciate the debate, and I especially appreciate you taking the time you have to explore these ideas. TSC

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Mexico Considers Absentee Balloting

Potential voters want voice in democracy

by Michelle Ray Ortiz

MEXICO CITY

They account for more than 10 percent of Mexico's adults and provide its third-largest source of income, after oil and tourism. But they have no direct voice in politics because they do not live in Mexico.

They are not the millions of workers who have left their homeland, most for the United States, most to escape poverty. Now, many hope Mexico's next presidential election will be the first in which they have a say.

Mexicans in the United States and opposition politicians in Mexico want to establish absentee voting in time for the July 2000 election, which is shaping up as the biggest threat yet to the ruling party's 70-year lock on power.

Whether they will be able to do so is up the governing Institutional Revolutionary Patry (PRI), and supporters of the change accuse party leaders of stonewalling out of fear that Mexicans abroad could cost them the election.

Some advocates of absentee voting say leaders of the ruling party fear Mexicans angry over the economic situation that sent them abroad will vote against the PRI.

Others are even more cynical.

PRI leaders "know they can't be rigging election boxes here in the United States. They just can't afford it," said Jorge Portillos, a San Diego shop owner who headed north 15 years ago. "A true democracy would allow everyone who has a stake in the elections to cast a vote."

Activists are using that kind of sentiment to pressure the PRI to establish voting abroad in time for the 2000 election. They say if it doesn't, it will be reneging on promises of greater democratization.

"If the Mexican electoral system again excludes 7 to 10 million Mexicans who live abroad, then they have not reached and will not reach the level of democratization that they say we will have," said political scientist Jesus Martin Saldana, a Mexican who has spent much of his career teaching in the United States.

"We already make up between 14 and 15 percent of the Mexican electorate. If they exclude us ... it would be like the United States again excluding all of the black population [or] all of the Latino population. This is not democracy."

PRI politicians agreed in 1996 to change Mexico's constitution to allow voters to cast ballots outside their home districts. But they have yet to approve a system for voting by citizens living abroad.

PRI members say election reform is not a matter to be rushed risk the credibility of the system," said Alfredo Phillips Olmeda, a PRI congressman who heads the Foreign Affairs Committee. "This is a profound topic that we must look at as a proposal to modify the very foundation of Mexico's electoral process. This is not for just one election."

Mexico's Federal Elections Institute said in November that it would be "technically viable" to organize a vote abroad in 2000 and that a poll found 83 percent of Mexicans in the United States would like to vote.

The only thing standing in the way "is simply the political will," said Emilio Zebadua, a member

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Michelle Ray Ortiz is a staff reporter with the Associated Press. This article appeared in The Washington Times *on June 1, 1999 and is reprinted by permission.*

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of the institute's governing council.

One complication, though, is the 1996 reform law that said in order to hold voting abroad, the federal government would have to create a National Registry of Citizens and issue a new citizenship identification card. All sides agree that is not feasible before July 2000.

"Mexicans living abroad ... are people with great economic power. Those 7.2 million citizens — all but 100,000 of them in the U.S. — send home an estimated $5 billion to $7.5 billion a year."

The main problem is that to prove citizenship, Mexicans need documents, and in Mexico up to 15 percent of people lack even a birth certificate, an Interior Ministry official said.

Mexico's civil registry system is being modernized, with new efforts to reach isolated rural regions, but the job will not be done before the next president takes office. And, the official said, "we're not sure whether it will be a priority of the next government."

Opposition parties are not willing to wait and see.

"We will fight to have [voting abroad] implemented in 2000," said Rafael Castilla Peniche, a congressman from the pro-business National Action Patry. "We want this now."

Mr. Castilla has proposed legislation that would allow voting abroad in 2000. Mexicans would be able to register with Mexican embassies or consulates abroad, and present the federal elections card that an estimated 95 percent of Mexican adults already carry.

The elections institute would decide how voting could be done. In the United States, volunteers would be needed to staff as many as 7,000 booths, which could be set up in schools, shopping malls or parks. Voters in areas with few Mexicans would be allowed to mail in their ballots.

To win support from skeptics in Congress, the bill also would require voters to show some link to Mexico — such as a tax receipt or proof that they send money home. Those with dual citizenship would have to declare that they have not previously voted in the elections of another country.

Mr. Castilla hopes the measure will be considered in a special legislative session this year.

It has the support of the four opposition parties in Congress. Mr. Castilla warns that if it doesn't pass, it will be the fault of the PRI — "and the political cost that they will pay will be very high."

Mexicans living abroad "are people who come to Mexico, who could tell their families, their friends, that the PRI opposed this vote," he said.

They also are people with great economic power. Those 7.2 million citizens — all but 100,000 of them in the United States — send home an estimated $5 billion to $7.5 billion a year.

A U.S.-based coalition of Mexican immigrants is rallying support for the movement.

"Well over 40 countries in the world allow people to vote from abroad," said Al Rojas, a coordinator for the 2000 Vote Campaign in Sacramento. "The Mexican government fears its own people and fears their right to bring about this change."

Mr. Phillips, the PRI congressman, insists fear isn't an issue. "There is no indication" expatriates would vote against the PRI," he said.

While politicians debate, Mr. Martin Saldana, the expatriate professor, feels frustration growing. Any further delay, he says, will continue neglect of the millions of Mexicans living outside Mexico.

"The Mexican government, for all of this century, has done nothing to strengthen those ties to give a sense of dignity to its citizens abroad," he said.

"The vote right now means to us a battle to secure and recover citizenship and to contribute our own resources, our own efforts to the democratization of Mexico." TSC

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Americans Should Only Vote in the U.S.

Voting in their country of origin an affront to oath

by Michael Warder

Should naturalized Serbian Americans be allowed to vote simultaneously for Pat Buchanan and Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic in future elections? The knotty little problem of dual citizenship is increasingly surfacing in America and other countries in sometimes surprising ways.

In the southwest United States it may well be that millions of naturalized Mexican American citizens will be allowed to vote for both the American candidate for president in 2000 and also the Mexican candidate in that same year. (The Mexican government is considering the question, already having eliminated a constitutional obstacle.) But there are other examples of this growing problem.

What of the Americans who return to Lithuania or Estonia, for example, to participate in public life in the country of their birth? What are their interests as they vote in these tiny countries while voting for U.S. senators who may vote on future NATO membership for these countries?

And what of the case last week of American citizens flying to Israel to vote for either Ehud Barak or Benjamin Netanyahu for prime minister?

Generally, people vote where they live. The idea is that you and your family will suffer or enjoy the consequences of voting in the place where you reside. Then, too, the government will know where to find you when it is time to collect taxes, call you to serve on a jury, issue your passport or notify you to serve in the military. Generally, people live in the same country where they work.

But it is not right that an American citizen living and working abroad, with the rights and duties of American citizenship, could simultaneously be a citizen of another country. Nor should new American citizens be allowed to vote simultaneously in the country of their origin. American citizenship is not so

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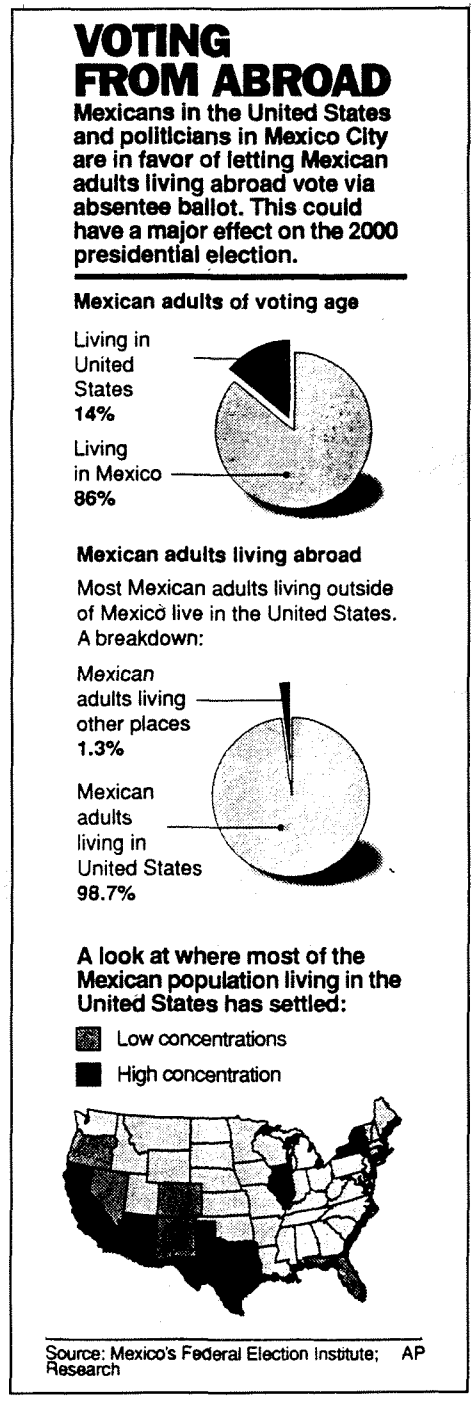
VOTING FROM ABROAD
Mexicans in the United States and politicians in Mexico City are in favor of letting Mexican adults living abroad vote via absentee ballot. This could have a major effect on the 2000 presidential election.
Mexican adults of voting age
Living in United States 14%
Living in Mexico 86%
Mexican adults living abroad
Most Mexican adults living outside of Mexico live in the United States. A breakdown:
Mexican adults living other places 1.3%
Mexican adults living in United States 98.7%
A look at where most of the Mexican population living in the United States has settled:
Low concentrations
High concentration
Source: Mexico's Federal Election Institute; AP Research

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cheap, nor I suspect is the citizenship of most any other country.

The injustice done to Japanese Americans in World War II, when they were assigned to camps in California and elsewhere during the war, derives from the fact that most were U.S. citizens. If they were not loyal U.S. citizens, but rather citizens whose loyalty was to their country of origin, there was no injustice in their being distrusted for concerns about spying and subversion during war. In that case, they might likely have worked here to further the interest of their country, then an enemy of the United States.

To change citizenship is no light matter. Consider the oath each new citizen takes to become a U.S. citizen:

> *I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America against all — enemies, foreign and domestic...*

The idea that a new American citizen, after having taken such an oath, would then seek to vote for a foreign leader is an offense to the oath and to the United States.

If, in the case of Mexico, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) were to lose a close three-way race for the presidency in 2000, after 70 years of uninterrupted power, it might dispute the election results. It could easily allege in these presidential elections that the Drug Enforcement Agency or the CIA covertly and decisively tampered with the outcome by influencing the votes from the United States. There is, after all, a history of Mexican distrust concerning interference by its powerful neighbor to the north.

However implausible the accusation, it might well reverberate powerfully in Mexico and topple an incoming government. The same accusation of tampering could be leveled in the Baltics through votes cast or influence generated from America, or Russia for that matter.

America is now becoming increasingly accepting of new Mexican American citizens. That is a good thing. And it is a fine thing that individual Americans seek to help the nations of their origin, as in the case of many Baltic Americans.

However, in this rapidly changing world, the obligations and interests of citizens should not be allowed to float so easily between nations. Such a situation invites questions of loyalty. The oath of citizenship is one that is not taken lightly, anywhere. The U.S. Congress should pass a law prohibiting all citizens of the United States from voting in foreign elections. TSC

A New American

Ex-Soviet dictator's son passes U.S. citizenship test

by Terrence Petty

PROVIDENCE, R.I. Sergei Krushchev breezed through the U.S. citizenship test and next month will swear loyalty to a country and way of life that Soviet leader Nikita Krushchev — his father — had promised to bury.

"We both passed," Krushchev said with a smile as he and his wife left the Providence office of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service on Wednesday.

"Our heart is here. We will be good citizens," said the 63-year-old Krushchev, an engineer who once designed rockets that were aimed at the West.

Krushchev missed one out of twenty questions on the citizenship test. His wife, Valentina Golenko, got all of them right. They'll take their loyalty oath on July 12, the final step for citizenship.

Terrence Petty is a writer for the Associated Press. This report appeared June 24, 1999.

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Back during the Cold War, when Nikita Krushchev was in power, his son's decision to become an American would probably have been seen as an act of treason. So is Nikita Krushchev spinning in his gave?

Sergei Krushchev doesn't think so.

"The world has changed" since the times when his father was in power, he said. But then he added, "I hope he would approve."

Krushchev has said his father's "we will bury you" remark was misunderstood. The remark meant that capitalism would die and that the Soviet economic system would bury it.

Krushchev was besieged by reporters after taking the citizenship test. All wanted to know why he had decided to become an American citizen.

"When you are living in a country, it is natural to become a citizen," replied Krushchev, who moved to the United States in 1991 and teaches at Brown University.

Krushchev argued there was no irony in him becoming an American citizen — because his country of birth and the United States are no longer enemies.

"There's no Cold War," he said.

Still, Krushchev conceded that there might be Stalinists back in his homeland who would view him as a traitor.

"But you find crazy people everywhere," he said.

Sergei Krushchev came to the United States as a visiting professor. He got his green card in 1993. By law, he had to wait another five years before he could apply for citizenship.

His attorney, Dan Danilow, called Krushchev last year to ask if he wanted to take the citizenship test.

"I told him I needed to think about it," said Krushchev. "I needed to decide what was better, to return to Moscow or stay here."

Krushchev and his wife decided they belong here.

They live in a suburban ranch house. He drives a Buick. They shop at the Rhode Island Mall.

He's published three books in the United States, and a fourth comes out next year.

Krushchev has something like celebrity status at Brown University, an Ivy League school. And he says he's received no job offers from Russia that could dissuade him from giving up his cozy life.

"I have the opportunity to express my views, to write my books, to lecture, to teach," he said.

All of the corruption and turmoil in his homeland do

Re: Citizenship

Even though this Krushchev will be an American as of July 12, he says, "Of course, I'm Russian." — Associated Press report

The statement points to one of the greatest dilemmas we have — becoming an American citizen does not mean becoming an American. Rather it means granting the American lifestyle with the cushy living, the cars, the vacations, squeaky clean schools and hospitals, and the little house with the white picket fence. While they accept these things with obvious delight, they know they can distance themselves from other responsibilities and maintain their foreign identity and their national loyalty. At that point, American citizenship is not a responsibility but a freebie bestowed with no personal compensation expected.

No need for any cover-up on their part because they are well aware of the vigorous support by our government for this opportunism. The thinking of our government seems to be that their presence here is compensation enough because just their foreignness and unfamiliarity with our values will lead us to a higher level of functioning. This is especially true of Latin Americans who have been lavishly funded both by public and private sectors to be the Americans of the 21st century.

So far there is little opposition from the American people at large who seem resigned to their alleged inadequacies and their dependence on Mexicans, Cubans, and Central Americans for future leadership.

— Robert Simmons
Immigration Control Advocates
San Rafael, California

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nothing to add to Russia's appeal Krushchev blames much of the trouble on Russian President Boris Yeltsin: "Russia needs new leadership."

But Krushchev isn't completely turning his back on Mother Russia.

He still has an apartment and a large country house in Russia. And he'll keep visiting his three grown-up sons.

Krushchev reads Russian newspapers every day. Russian novelists are among his favorite writers, and he listens to Russian music.

Even though this Krushchev will be an American as of July 12, he says, "Of course, I'm Russian." TSC

How Not to 'Solve' the Social Security Problem

Mass immigration is the wrong answer

by Gene A. Nelson

Political conservatives have been advocating a substantial increase in immigration as a means of postponing the predicted date of bankruptcy of the U.S. Social Security system. Conservatives claim that the recruitment of younger, new workers from abroad will infuse the system with abundant Social Security tax revenues, and therefore, support the retirement of American workers presently contributing to the Social Security system.

Examination of the careers of present U.S. science and engineering (S&E) professionals as a sub-population demonstrates that these "rescue" claims are fraudulent. The likely outcome is denial of adequate Social Security retirement payments to American S&Es as they are being permanently displaced by the younger, overseas S&E professionals. The older S&Es, regardless of their national origin, are forced to take lower paying, lower security positions such as "help desk" work merely to survive. The older S&Es are informed that they are "overqualified" when they seek available S&E positions that they could fill, based on their training. Employers prefer to fill the open S&E positions with "fresh (inexpensive) young blood." Employers of S&Es have succeeded with this illegal age discrimination because they have vigorously lobbied for conditions that guarantee that there is a huge glut of S&Es seeking a much smaller **pool** of available positions. "Walk through" tours of many "high tech" firms demonstrate the prevalence of younger professionals, rather than showing substantial employment of those above approximately 40 years of age.

While S&E employers have continuously and loudly lamented about a predicted "shortfall" or "looming shortage" of S&Es since at least the late 1960s, these crises have never materialized. (The only "shortage" has been of pliant professionals willing to work under undesirable conditions, such as being forced to work substantial unpaid hours of overtime.) However, these shortage claims have lured hundreds of thousands of impressionable young people to obtain a S&E degree. Science and engineering degree production in the United States at the bachelor's degree level has been remarkably stable at above 300,000 per year for multiple decades. Researchers such as Braddock et. al. in the U.S. Department of Labor projected net S&E job replacement and growth requirements in 1992 to be in the neighborhood of only 55,000 per year (if real GNP growth was at least "moderate.") With domestic S&E degree production alone, there are roughly 6 applicants chasing each available position. Immigration further tilts the balance in favor of S&E employers. With only the H-1B and S&E permanent resident visa programs being considered, over 200,000 more S&Es are being imported each year. That implies at least 10 applicants pursuing

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each available S&E position, which unambiguously fits the definition of a "glut."

Colleges and universities have also lobbied for high levels of S&E immigration. There are two significant benefits to those institutions that occur with S&E employee gluts. The first benefit is that as S&Es are permanently displaced from the careers they have trained for long before retirement age, demand for teaching the cadre of younger S&Es is stimulated. Lecture hall seats are filled, but now with foreign faces. (Our tax dollars subsidize this training in essentially all public and private colleges and universities.) The second benefit for the institutions is that they have low-cost access to skilled S&E labor. It is illuminating that many of the provisions of the 1998 law that essentially doubled immigration levels of the controversial H-lB visa program specifically exempted colleges and universities from reporting and notification requirements.

Social Security retirement payments are determined by a formula that heavily weights the salary level earned during the last few years of a wage earner's career. This formula made sense before the era of corporations permanently eliminating millions of professional-level positions, as has occurred during the late 1980s and all of the 1990s. By the time the bulk of the "Baby Boomers" have retired at age 65 by the year 2025, only a select few (who tend to be wealthy already) will have an employment history showing a steady increase in annual income. These few wealthy people will be entitled to the maximum Social Security retirement benefits. Without S&E immigration reforms, a very large fraction of S&Es will have their late-career subsistence-level incomes determine their meager Social Security retirement benefits. (This is a callous method to extend the life of the Social Security trust fund and to benefit those who really do not need Social Security payments.)

It bears repeating that this negative outcome, driven by S&E employer age discrimination, is independent of the nation of origin of the scientist or engineer.

While this problem is confined to the approximately 13 million U.S. citizens who have either earned a S&E bachelor's degree (or higher) or are presently employed as a scientist or engineer, it will spread to other professions as employers in those other fields utilize similar special interest lobbying to push for immigration in those fields as a remedy to purported "shortages" in the other fields. Therefore, it is essentially a universal concern to U.S. workers that immigration be reduced back to historically lower levels to protect their Social Security retirement benefits. TSC

[*Author's note: This essay was written to commemorate the death of an American activist against the H-lB program, Ed Curry of Jarrell, Texas, who died of a stroke on March 24, 1999 at age 40. The employer-designed H-lB program, which has been characterized as "indentured servitude," began in 1990.*]

That's the Ticket

Rogelio Campos, 61, a dump truck driver who moved to the United States from Cuba 14 years ago, was stopped by police in Yonkers, N.Y., last summer, allegedly because his dump truck was overweight. But after talking with the officer, Campos was given a ticket under an obscure section of federal transportation law that prohibits drivers from operating commercial vehicles if they don't have an adequate command of English. Campos is fighting the case in court with the help of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund.

"This is a guy who has never run a stop sign," said Fernando Mateo, a Dominican immigrant who owns San Mateo Constriction Corp., which employs Campos. "The funny thing here is that he was able to take a test for his commercial license in Spanish, but he is required to speak English."

Mateo, 40, who owns several companies after starting out as a poor high school dropout, said learning English has been integral to his success. He has used the incident to prod Campos into taking classes to improve his limited English. Still, he thinks the police went too far by giving his driver a ticket.

"You are a nobody in this country if you can't speak English. I am a firm believer that if I live in France, my language should be French. If I live in Spain, my language should be Spanish. If I live in the United States, my language should be English," Mateo said. "But I don't feel that, constitutionally, anyone should be given a ticket because they can't speak the language."

— from a report by Michael A. Fletcher
in the November 30, 1998 edition of *The Washington Post*

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Goodbye, America

Book Review by Michael W. Masters

In 1965, in the wake of the so-called "civil rights" revolution — and at the behest of an odd-fellow coalition of economic interests and egalitarian zealots — Congress set out to remedy a predominantly European America's diversity deficit. Prior to this time, quotas limited immigration to nationality numbers proportional to those already present in the population. In atonement for this sin, the Immigration Act of 1965 opened America's borders to Third World invasion.

As a result, writes immigration and population researcher Joseph Fallon in *Deconstructing America*, by 1997 "the Census Bureau estimated the Non-Hispanic White population, which includes North Africans and Southwest Asians along with European-Americans, was now only 72.6 percent of the population..."

From being the overwhelmingly dominant majority, both numerically and culturally, whites have descended to a point where they are no longer defined by what they are, people of European descent, but by what they are not. They are, dismissively, merely "Non-Hispanic." The "Hispanic" category is itself an oxymoron, simply a catch-all umbrella encompassing anyone who speaks Spanish — except real Spaniards, of course. The term white now also serves as a dumping ground for Southwest Asians and North Africans, who are not "white" in any meaningful sense of the word.

America has become the Third World's favorite target for immigration. The entire population of Mexico, it seems, is moving north. According to a 1996 Los Angeles Times poll, half of all Mexicans have relatives living in the U.S. Twenty percent (18 million Mexicans) said they too plan to try to cross the border. The INS estimates that 54 percent of the five million illegals now in the U.S. are Mexican. The potential for invasion from India is even more astonishing. A 1995 Gallup poll revealed that 7 percent of the population of India, 65 million people, would like to migrate to America.

Perhaps it is not surprising that much of the Third World covets admittance. After all, America's European-descended population has made our nation materially prosperous beyond the imagination of much of the planet.

As Fallon points out, "The magnet attracting such immigration, both legal and illegal, is the welfare state and its extensive financial benefits which Congress had, up to the time of the enactment of the Welfare Reform Act of 1996, made available to Third World immigrants."

In 1990, the European-descended American welfare rate was five percent. By contrast, immigrant welfare rates vary from 10 to 15 percent for Chinese, Filipinos and Mexicans to an astonishing 50 percent for Cambodians and Laotians. According to Dr. Donald Huddle, the net national cost of immigration to U.S. taxpayers was $65 billion in 1996. This value is up an astonishing 40 percent since 1992, when the corresponding amount was $46 billion. Projections are that this outflow will reach $108 billion by the end of the decade.

The financial burden is only one of immigration's many negative aspects — and perhaps in the long run not even the most important one. Social, cultural and political changes may ultimately be of far greater consequence. Traditional European heritage is under unrelenting assault. Language was an early casualty. Passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968

Deconstructing America: Immigration, Nationality and Statehood
by Joseph E. Fallon
Washington, DC: Council for Social and Economic Studies
101 pages, $8.75
Order from Scott-Townsend Publishers
Box 34070, NW Washington, DC 20043
(202) 371-2700

Michael W. Masters *writes on issues of politics, moral philosophy and sociobiology.*

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authorized education of immigrants in their own tongue. Worse, the rule that immigrants must demonstrate English proficiency in order to naturalize has languished.

Not surprisingly, attacks on European cultural traditions and icons have followed, including the Alamo, Custer National Battlefield Monument, Oregon's "Promised Land" monument, Confederate symbols throughout the South, and many more. Ethnic factions lobby loudly for their own self-interest. Intimidated by the commissars of political correctness, a largely white Congress passes laws that are transforming the historic American nation into a mini-UN. Writes Fallon,

> *As a result of ethnic lobbying, the U.S. government has "adopted the following foreign policies: The U.S. military invasion of Haiti (advocated by African-Americans), the North American Free Trade Agreement (advocated by Mexican-Americans), and the Helms-Burton Act, barring business with Cuba (advocated by Cuban-Americans).*

"Nor do the statistics measure lost quality of life in hostile, racially fragmented urban areas..."

In addition, says Fallon, "Congress has granted American Samoa, Guam, Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands and even the District of Columbia the right to send delegates to the U.S. House of Representatives who can vote in the subcommittees, the full committees, and the caucuses of that chamber." Statehood for largely black and Spanish-speaking Puerto Rico has long been a goal of multiculturalists.

For those whose goal is sheer power, the "divide and conquer" strategy has great potential, even if it means wrecking nations and peoples that existed for centuries. Lawyer Luis Davila-Colon revealed immigration and multiculturalism's utility in increasing government control when he wrote in "The Supranational Union: An Evolving Model of Statehood for Twentieth-First Century America":

> *The future admission of its overseas territories and the District of Columbia, as equal members of the Union, would lay the groundwork for a stronger Union and, perhaps in time, for the sharing of the American system of government with nations which may want to share our dreams, progress and democratic values.*

If crime statistics are any indication, multiculturalism is hardly the bonanza of "progress and democracy" Davila-Colon implies. One fourth of the federal prison population consists of non- citizens. Unfortunately, no statistics are kept on immigrant prisoners who have already become naturalized citizens. Nor do the statistics measure lost quality of life in hostile, racially fragmented urban areas that have been "ethnically cleansed" of their European-descended residents. And yet, says Fallon, ordinary crime is only the tip of the iceberg.

Far more ominous is the growing violence which is inseparable from this "Balkanization." According to a Northwest University study by Jack Levin and Benjamin Steiner reported in the Washington Times, November 25, 1996, rioting is on the rise in the United States. In this study, "rioting" was defined as violence by groups of more than 50 people. Such riots were often found to be race-related. In 1994, nine riots occurred. The very next year, 1995, there were twelve. The authors expect the number of riots to continue to increase annually for the foreseeable future.

In fact, there is an even more bleak scenario. Fallon writes, "Others see 'Balkanization' leading to something more ominous than the escalating number of riots — they see the very real chance of civil war." Many writers have foreseen the same future, among them Michael Clough, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. In an article in The Arizona Republic, "U.S. Coming Apart at Regional Seams," Clough wrote, "national unity is being eroded from above and below," adding, "the stage could be set for a series of economic and cultural civil wars pitting regions of the country against each other."

The vital question is, can our civilization survive this assault? None has in the past. Prudence suggests ours is no different than any other — and that we must take measures to insure that this future does not become a reality. TSC

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As California Goes...

What is changing is our social fabric!

Book Review by Leon F. Bouvier

Professor Clark has clearly done his "homework." *California Cauldron* is a well-written and deeply researched monograph. In addition, the numerous excellent charts are a welcome addition to a population-oriented book. Hopefully, this will set a trend in this field.

California Cauldron differs from other books that have been written about California's population issue in that it looks at various areas, counties and even smaller geographical units. It concentrates, however, on the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas but looks at other parts of the state as appropriate. The main emphasis of this book is, in the words of the author, "To what extent will the new immigrant groups follow the old patterns of 'integration'?" (p.14) Clark offers a relatively novel approach to the assimilation/pluralism question.

The California Cauldron: Immigration and the Fortunes of Local Communities
by William A. V. Clark
New York: The Guilford Press
224 pages, $30.00

> *If ethnic groups are empowered under a dominance mode, in which one group is assured majority status in some political unit, division and divisiveness may well result. Under a different mode, however, one in which several groups join to influence outcomes, the separateness of ethnic groups will work to empower the totality. Thus, the way in which pluralism is accommodated is as important as the confrontation between assimilation and pluralism.* (p.13)

As California becomes a "no majority" state (as the entire nation may well become by mid-21st century), a new form of adaptation may follow — one in which there is no dominant ethnic group. This is an important theory and deserves serious consideration.

It should be pointed out, however, that Clark is well aware of the difficulties that the state and the nation face as a result of massive immigration. Writing about LEP (Limited English Proficiency) students, he comments:

> *Without changes in national immigration policies or redistribution of resources to educate the influx of new students, the outcomes will affect California and the United States for the rest of the next century.* (p.15)

Later he points out that in the Los Angeles school district, Hispanics comprise 66 percent of the students, 14 percent are Black, 12 percent are non-Hispanic white, and 8 percent are Asian. And he then concludes:

> *Although money alone may not be the entire solution, there is no question that California must move from the bottom tier of state school funding to the top, if the generations of new immigrant students are to be incorporated into the post-industrial society.* (p.137)

The author devotes a considerable portion of the manuscript to education, poverty, the economy, home ownership, language, etc. The findings are rather dismal. For example, "twenty-six percent of California adults age 20-24 in 1990 lacked a high school diploma, the highest proportion in the nation ..." (p.50) One could go on and on citing these examples. They are not encouraging and Clark does not hide the facts. Furthermore, much space is devoted to comparing the various immigrant groups with one another. For example, the San Francisco Bay area with its greater concentration of Asians fares better on most social measures than does the Los Angeles area with its large

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number of Latinos. These comparisons lead the author to a rather gloomy conclusion and one that has been suggested in other works on California:

> *As a group, immigrants to California are losing ground in relative terms. Although some are holding their own in constant dollars, the relative and absolute decline for successive waves of Mexican and Central American migrants raises the very real issue of a bifurcated immigrant society and eventually of a bifurcated California society.* (p.91)

Without stating it specifically, the end result could well be a division between an upper class composed of non-Hispanic Whites and Asians on the one side, and a lower class of African-Americans and Hispanics on the other.

"The reader begins to wonder if there are any African-Americans in California! Little is written about this important group. ...It would have been interesting to see how Blacks compare to the various immigrant groups discussed..."

While overall this is an excellent publication, one omission stands out throughout most of the monograph. The reader begins to wonder if there are any African-Americans in California! Little is written about this important group. Furthermore, on page 117, when Clark refers to Blacks in a chart (Figure 5.13), one searches the chart in vain. No Blacks there! It would have been interesting to see how Blacks compare to the various immigrant groups discussed throughout the book.

For this reviewer, Chapter 6, "Assimilation versus Separation" was particularly interesting, as was Chapter 8 on "The Strained Social Fabric." Clark explains in some detail the various modes of cultural adaptation including the "melting pot." (Thus the term "cauldron" to ask whether the "pot" has come to a boil!) He cites the classic studies like those of Milton Gordon and Nathan Glazer. However, in discussing the previous adaptation of non-Anglo Europeans, he failed to cite the very important work of the late Robert Christopher. His *Crashing the Gates: The De-Wasping of America's Power Elite* would have been an excellent source for this discussion. The author attempts to measure assimilation through the standards of English language acquisition, seeking citizenship, and intermarriage. He does a good job with an almost impossible task. Then he asks the question:

> *Do these figures mean that Asians are more likely to be assimilated? The evidence ... is strongly positive. Does this suggest that a Mexican nation within a nation is emerging? Not necessarily, although ... findings emphasize Hispanic immigrants' links to Mexico and the role of cheap travel and low-cost telephone service in preserving a cross-cultural link is slowing any tendency to assimilate to a new, blended society.* (p.152)

Clark is careful not to offend anyone with his conclusions. Indeed, until the final few chapters, my feeling was that here is yet another academic refusing to take a position on a controversial topic. Here in this particular chapter, he concludes:

> *... the division between the new working-class poor and the wealthy native-born whites is a further outcome of the recent high levels of immigration. Immigration levels and preferences will have major effects on the future of division and separation.* (p.165)

In this reviewer's opinion, this book deals only superficially with the future of California's population. What is discussed is excellent, however. For example, on page 193:

> *It is clear and incontrovertible that projected growth will create very large youthful and elderly populations at the same time ... one-third of the population will be under 20 ... in 2025; at the same time more than 13 percent will be over 65. This anomalous, bifurcated population will require schools and old-age retirement homes simultaneously. Moreover, the young population will be mostly Asian and*

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Latino, while the aging population will be mostly non-Hispanic white.

It should be added that the author devotes all of two brief paragraphs to "Immigration and the Environment." The sheer impact of immigration on population size (compared to natural increase) warrants a serious discussion of the impact such growth has on the nation's (as well as the state's) environment.

It is in Chapter 8 that Clark discards his academic role and gives the readers an idea of where he stands. It is an excellent position, although he pays scant attention to the actual *level* of immigration. He argues effectively for a more skill-based immigration rather than one based on family reunification. His conclusion is worth repeating here:

> *...it is not the costs of immigration that is the central issue; it is the change in our social fabric. Our nation must accommodate the changing multiethnic complexity so that the State of California and the United States retain their identity as one society with many ethnic backgrounds and identities, rather than be divided into separate ethnic and racial societies sharing a common territory but holding only weak loyalties to the nation as a whole.*

This is somewhat similar to the concept of "pluralistic assimilation" that this reviewer has discussed elsewhere.

Clark's final statement is also worth citing: "We cannot expect the cauldron to stop bubbling, but by rationalizing immigration policy to emphasize skills for admittance and education for human capital formation for those already here, we would go a long way in reducing the tensions and decreasing the separations that currently exist." (p.201) Is he including African-Americans here?

In sum, *The California Cauldron* is a truly excellent survey of what is happening in our largest state. It is worthwhile reading for anyone (academic or non-academic) interested in this complex issue. It is well written and beautifully illustrated. Of course, any reviewer must find some faults! I have already mentioned the limited attention given to African-Americans. I also wish he had dealt a little more with the future population of both California and the United States. Other criticisms have already been stated. Together these do not detract from a worthwhile effort. As my good friend and colleague, Peter Morrison, wrote in his kudos,

> *Clark's timely look at California's recent experience with foreign influx clarifies the future and challenges many communities face in this new demographic era ... this book offers a wealth of new insight into the local complexities of immigration ... and its enduring future promise for the 21st century United States.*

All I can add is, "Peter, I agree." TSC

Study of Impact of Illegal Immigration

A new study has taken a look at the economic impact of illegal immigration on border-region communities in Cochise County [AZ]. Though long-suspected, says Ken Jones of the Center for Economic Research at Cochise College, it is clear that the onslaught of illegal immigrants is having a negative impact.

Drawn northward by impressions of employment opportunities created by NAFTA and the strong U.S. economy, immigrants are arriving to find tighter immigration control along the entire U.S.-Mexico border....

Except for what can be traced directly to wages and funding sent to border communities, the impact is negative to a community, Jones says.

Economic costs to areas affected include direct costs of property damage and medical care, along with damage to fences, land, and buildings due to trespassing on private land.

As summer heats up, observers say, communities may expect to see increasing costs of medical care for illegal immigrants who are treated locally for heat-related injuries and illnesses before being returned to Mexico.

There are other costs deemed more difficult to measure. They include negative image problems on border issues, resulting in lost tourism; reluctance of families to relocate in communities with border issue problems; and increased hesitancy on the part of business to locate in a problem area.

Jones also touched on social issues, where residents felt their lives are impacted by events at the border, downgrading quality of life and instilling fear....

— *The News*, Bisbee, Arizona, June 24, 1999

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Requiem for California

You just can't trust those voters

Book Review by Kevin Jenks

Few American states exhibit the stresses and strains stemming from the nation's misguided post-1965 immigration policy as does California. Attractive in climate and particularly accessible to Mexicans and East Asians, America's most populous state now teems with millions of these immigrants, legal and illegal, and many more from Central America and Southeast Asia. The "white non-Latinos" (in U.S. Census Bureau jargon) who created the Golden State have recently diminished to an uneasy minority there. Meanwhile, many of the new immigrants, possessing few skills, little education, and less civic tradition, have had difficulty embracing the "American dream," but have nonetheless been able to lay tenacious hold on California neighborhoods, towns, and inner cities.

Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future
by Peter Schrag
New York: The New Press
344 pages, $25

Today, California's earlier promise is increasingly evanescent for the state's dwindling "Anglos" (in *Los Angeles Times* jargon). One result, as journalist and academic Peter Schrag shows in his spottily informative *Paradise Lost*, has been an evolving white strategy of withdrawal from the newly alien environs, either to remote parts of California or out of state. The second consequence has been California's older and whiter electoral majority's recourse to popular plebiscite to reduce and localize taxation and to stanch the flow of their money to illegal entrants and other abusers of public largesse.

Schrag finds this largely passive and thoroughly peaceable response to what even he seems to regard as a civic and demographic crisis nonetheless unacceptable. Himself an immigrant (he arrived as a refugee from Germany in 1941) who in 1972 authored a celebratory book titled *The Decline of the Wasp*, Schrag unsurprisingly makes California's refractory "non-Hispanic whites" the villains of the piece, and their "hyperpopulist" embrace of initiative, referendum, and recall the chief crime against "good government" in contemporary California.

Schrag was for nineteen years editorial page editor of the *Sacramento Bee,* has taught at Amherst and the University of Massachusetts, and currently hangs his hat at the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. As might be expected, in *Paradise Lost* he leans heavily on journalistic tropes and rhetoric, exudes mistrust of plebiscitary democracy, and seems to regard white Californians chiefly as cash cows to provide more "revenues" for immigrants and their progeny .

As Schrag recognizes, California has long been the focus of both hope and foreboding, for its inhabitants as well as for the nation as a whole. Unfortunately, his musings on California's image and meaning for Americans in the 1940s, '50s and '60s add little to what has long been in print on the subject. Rather than dither on about the allure of surfing and Hollywood, he would have been better advised to point out what a strategic and economic prize California has been, from the time the U.S. seized it from Mexico under the jealous eyes of England and Russia, to the present. Schrag, however, chooses to downplay the racial and ethnic strife that has been a constant in California's history. For instance, he fails to mention the successful campaign to stop Chinese immigration, in which California played the leading role in the 1880s, despite his occasional excursions

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into the state's nineteenth-century past. The judicious reader may be tempted to see in this particular omission the author's desire to magnify the iniquity of today's Caucasian Californios.

The heart of *Paradise Lost* is in its treatment of California's recent resuscitation of the electoral initiative, whereby voters ballot directly on a proposed measure. Added to the state's constitution in the populist and Progressive fervor of the early twentieth century, initiative, referendum (to nullify an existing law by popular vote), and recall (to remove an elected official by popular vote) tend, of course, to circumvent the normal workings of representative government — which is after all their purpose. (Schrag's dismay at how quickly legislators will leap to get aboard the rolling bandwagon makes for some wry reading.)

Paradise Lost provides a readable, though skewed, account of the renaissance of the initiative with Harold Jarvis and Paul Gann's property tax-slashing Proposition 13 in 1978 and its subsequent emergence as a vehicle for everything from regulating lawyers and insurance companies to withdrawing public services from illegal aliens (Proposition 187). Predictably, Schrag makes a few good points as to the role of self-interested political professionals in promoting plebiscites that they profit from, and on the bizarre jousts between attorneys, insurance companies, and like groups, in which misleadingly written and advertised propositions proliferate until four or five different propositions —each the creature of a separate interest group — may vie in a single election to "reform" a given industry or circumstance.

Schrag is much weaker on considering just where the impetus for plebiscitary reform, and in particular, reform of California's immigration mess is coming from. While he likens the efforts of today's Californians to reduce public spending on immigrants to the attempts of WASP elites to preserve citadels such as New York and Boston from encroaching immigrant "ethnics" through political "reforms" designed to minimize the newcomers electoral clout (pp. 262-263), he has to acknowledge that very low percentages of Hispanic citizens bother to vote in California. His analogy thus fails, and fails doubly. The indolence of California's new citizens to vote themselves the self-same "benefits" that the older and paler voters are desperately defending already differentiates them in several unfavorable ways from the European immigrants of a hundred years ago. Nor can the mass of white Californian voters be easily equated with the "good government" silk stockings and blue stockings of a hundred years ago.

Schrag himself clearly belongs to a media-academic-foundation class of educator-pundits that did mightily well from the expansive government of an earlier era. He evokes economist John Kenneth Galbraith's long-forgotten trumpeting against "private affluence and public squalor." He looks back with unconcealed nostalgia to the days of Pat Brown, California's liberal Democrat governor who greatly expanded the University of California system and the state's freeways in the latter '50s and early '60s. What a sad contrast to today's crumbling California, of which Schrag can write, of Orange County's 50 percent foreign-born, 70 percent Hispanic Santa Ana:

> *It's hard to imagine that the people who pulled up the orange trees after the war ever dreamed that within two generations their century-old community's shopping streets would be wall-to-wall with abogados advertising divorcios; viajes a México; seguros de auto; fótos y cópias; clínicas médicas; para la mujer de hoy; and places where "PARA MAMA, envio dinero hoy y la recibe mañana" — or that one of its main streets would one day boast a Salvadoran consulate.*

In the end, Schrag offers no explicit remedy for California's immigration problem, about which he is clearly uncomfortable, merely the wan hope that California's older, whiter voters will swiftly (before they die off or move away) vote to enable the wisemen and wisewomen of Sacramento to award enough "services" to transform the new populace into serviceable (but more public-spirited!) replicas of themselves. His pessimism at this prospect runs through *Paradise Lost* like a black thread, and while there's not enough of value here for proponents of immigration reform, the implicit thesis of this book — that without massive infusions of tax money, California's cities will become and remain slightly upscale versions of Tijuana — can't be very comforting for Ben Wattenberg and his school. TSC

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We Have Been Warned

California video documents 'La Reconquista'

Video Review by James P. Lubinskas

Glenn Spencer, who heads the immigration reform group Voices of Citizens Together (VCT) has assigned himself the mordant task of chronicling the fall of California. Perhaps best known for his annual Fourth of July anti-immigration rally in Los Angeles, Spencer also has the best immigration web site on the Internet. In a little over a year, the hit-counter at www.americanpatrol.com reads almost half-a-million. With updates several times a day Spencer is doing nothing less than recording the displacement of one culture — primarily "Anglo" — by another, hostile culture — primarily Mexican. While that transfer may be inevitable in California he is doing his best to make sure it does not happen to the entire United States. VCT's new video, *Immigration: Threatening the Bonds of Our Union,* is designed to alert Middle America to what awaits them if there is no change in our immigration policy.

Immigration: Threatening the Bonds of Our Union
Video produced by
Voices of Citizens Together
Los Angeles
46 minutes, $19.95
To order, call: 1-800-600-8342

The video starts by noting that the Republican party, due to political stupidity and cowardice, has abandoned the issue of immigration reform in California. The gains the party made under Pete Wilson have all been erased and with Gray Davis, the state now has the most liberal governor in America. Davis proudly supports Mexican-American radicals including his Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante. Mr. Bustamante, it may be recalled, went to Mexico after the passage of Proposition 187 to "apologize" to the Mexican government for the "racism" of Pete Wilson. Indeed, a central message of Spencer's is that Mexican-American leaders have an openly racialist plan to "reconquer" the Southwest and they are using immigration — both legal and illegal — to increase their power.

Charges such as these are often written off as right-wing paranoia but VCT provides the video and audio clips to back up this claim. We see Mario Obledo, the founder of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) announcing on the Tom Leykis show that, "California is going to be a Hispanic state. Anyone who doesn't like it should leave." When asked if he could see how people would construe his remarks as racist he coolly replies, "No, because that is the reality." Far from being hurt by his remarks he was given the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1998 by President Clinton. Obledo was praised as a "hero" and a "civil rights pioneer" by Hillary Clinton and Gray Davis — even after he had made his remarks.

Other video clips show Art Torres, former state senator and current chairman of the California state Democratic Party, addressing Hispanics at a post-187 rally. "Power is not given to you. You have to take it," says Torres. "Remember, 187 is the last gasp of white America in California." Of course, his racial pandering does not stop him from referring to immigration reformers as racists and bigots.

The current speaker of the California state assembly, Antonio Villaraigosa, is seen at a 1997 rally in Washington D.C. which demanded citizenship for illegal aliens. *"Somos Mexicanos!* (We are Mexicans!)" shouts the speaker. Joe Baca, a member of the California Assembly, is seen railing against Proposition 209 (which outlawed racial quotas in state government) at a voter registration rally. "We are in a civil war," he shouts. "United, Latinos will win!"

It would be a mistake to think that only elected

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officials, or indeed only Mexican-Americans, are involved in the "reconquista" (reconquer) movement. Professor Armando Navarro of California State University at Riverside is heard explaining what reconquista means. "It means a transfer of power. It means control...even in terms of an Aztlan." Professor David Kennedy, a historian at Stanford agrees with this view (though he does not endorse it). He predicts that the Southwest will become a sort of "Chicano Quebec" within a generation.

"Go back to Boston! Go back to Plymouth Rock, you Pilgrims. ... If anyone is going to be deported it is going to be you!"
— Augustine Cebeda

Though it may be alarming that powerful officials and academics hold these anti-American views, they are at least somewhat constrained by their positions from speaking out more forcefully. Street activists are much more blunt, and perhaps more representative of the reconquista mentality. Ricky Sierra of the "Chicano National Guard" is seen telling a cheering crowd that, "We are here united and we are recolonizing America so they are afraid of us .... It's time to take back what is ours."

One of the more graphic scenes in this video shows the attack on a VCT rally on the Fourth of July in 1996. Members of a Mexican Marxist group called the Communist Progressive Labor Party are shown attacking elderly members of VCT. Several of the VCT demonstrators are shown bleeding profusely as a result of beatings administered by sticks, bricks and fists. Augustine Cebeda, an apparent ringleader of the attack who heads the Brown Berets (a Mexican version of the Black Panthers) is shown surrounded by what appear to be shaven-skulled Mexican skinheads. Shouting, "Go back to Boston! Go back to Plymouth Rock you Pilgrims," he warns "no more of this talk of deporting. If anyone is going to be deported it is going to be you!"

Spencer does not limit himself to the United States in this video. He also puts the spotlight on high-level Mexican officials doing their best to undermine the sovereignty of the United States. We see Mexican Consul General Jose Pescador Osuna telling a group of lawyers in Los Angeles, "Although I am saying this half-jokingly, half-seriously, I think we are practicing la reconquista in California." Even more ominously, Mexican president Ernest Zedillo is seen in a 1997 speech to the National Council of La Raza (The Race) declaring, "I have proudly affirmed that the Mexican nation extends beyond the territory enclosed by its borders." This is the same man who warned the United States after Prop 187, "Mexico will not tolerate foreign nations imposing laws upon its citizens."

Of course, the immigration invasion is not limited to California or the Southwest and Spencer documents the damage it has already done to Middle America. The town of Rogers, Arkansas is swamped by aliens recruited to work at the local Tyson's Foods poultry plant. Lower wages, crime and a foreign culture are brought to a once sleepy, Southern town. Ranchers in Eagle Pass, Texas have to arm themselves at all times because of the crime committed by illegal immigrants who are "just passing through" their property. Drug gangs from Mexico invade Des Moines, Iowa. Police in Salt Lake City, Utah claim that 80 percent of all felony drug arrests in the city are illegal aliens. Mexican gang-bangers riot at the annual "Hot August Nights" festival in Reno, Nevada. Even Cheyenne, Wyoming is not immune from the problems of immigration as one official declares that illegal aliens and drugs are the biggest problems in his city.

If we had a president with an ounce of patriotism, he would take back the Medal of Freedom from Mario Obledo and give it to Glenn Spencer. VCT is one of the only groups in the country that is documenting what could be the real story of late 20th century America, namely, the loss of American culture and sovereignty in our most populous state. If Middle Americans do wake up to the danger that awaits them, it will be because of the tireless work of people like Glenn Spencer.

As for the Golden State, it's fate is sealed due to uncontrolled immigration. California is going to be a Hispanic state. Anyone who doesn't like it should leave. TSC

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The Elements of Good Government

Too much diversity makes it more difficult

Book Review by Wayne Lutton

Among the movers and shakers, "Diversity" is all the rage. The "diversifiers" include Republican presidential wannabes George W. Bush, who has roundly attacked as "uncaring" whose who call for immigration control, and Dan Quayle (recall that during his tour as Vice President he intoned that "Diversity is our strength"). Hillary Clinton — the Madame Mao of the Democrats Great Diversity Revolution — is fond of lecturing teens on how "fortunate" they are to attend grade schools that resemble a meeting of the UN or the Mexican Mafia (when she was Hillary Rodham, the future Mrs. Clinton grew up in an "Ozzie and Harriet" western Chicagoland suburb and admits to having been a Teen for Goldwater). The Commander of the NATO attacks on Serbia, General Wesley Kane Clark, declared that the Serbs would be compelled to accept a multicultural, Islamic-majority status for their home territory of Kosovo. "Diversity," we are assured, is just great and represents the wave of the New Age future.

Not all are yet convinced that "Diversity" is always and everywhere a good thing. Indeed, a number of scholars have been taking a harder look at "Diversity" and "Multiculturalism." A study released in 1995 by the National Center for Policy Analysis, *Multiculturalism and Economic Growth*, concluded "Countries with a common culture are more likely than culturally diverse nations to be economically prosperous and to offer their citizens more personal freedom." The author of the study, Gerald Scully, remarked, "Multiculturalism sounds fine in theory, but we find that where there are multiple cultures there is almost always conflict. Most homogeneous cultures have more civil and political freedom, while culturally heterogeneous ones have less."

The Quality of Government
(Working Paper 6727)
by Rafael LaPorta, Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes, Andrei Shleifer, and Robert Vishny
National Bureau of Economic Research,
1050 Massachusetts Avenue,
Cambridge, MA 02138-5398;
www.nber.org
61 pages, $10.00

More recently, a team of researchers from Harvard and the University of Chicago assembled data from 152 countries in an effort to determine the answer to this question: Why are some governments better than others? By "good government," they mean how efficiently a particular government helps deliver quality goods and services, levels of personal freedom, and the extent to which a government interferes in the private sector. Their findings challenge a number of the key assumptions upon which public policy is being redirected in the United States and other nations.

First, the authors present an overview of current theories of political, economic, and cultural dynamics. These provide a framework for interpreting data on gross domestic product, per-capita income, tax rates, measures of corruption, public and private sector salaries, personal freedom, literacy, and public health. "History and traditions matter," the authors emphasize, noting that cultural theories state clearly that "some societies form beliefs and ideas that are conducive to good government, while others do not." Citing the work of Robert Putnam and David Landes,

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the authors observe that trust in strangers is a key to facilitating positive collective action and is essential for the provision of public goods. Protestant areas constantly rate higher in "trust" than do Catholic and Muslim countries. Catholic and Muslim countries tend to be characterized by "vertical bonds of authority" instead of "horizontal bonds of fellowship." Landes argues that Catholic and Muslim countries "have acquired cultures of intolerance, xenophobia, and closed-mindedness that retarded their development" — a point raised at the turn of the century by Max Weber in his classic book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

"Ethnic diversity ... is not conducive to good government. On the contrary, 'ethno-linguistically heterogeneous' countries are not as well governed as those that are far less 'diverse.'"

Ethnic diversity, this study's authors discovered, is not conducive to good government. On the contrary, "ethno-linguistically heterogeneous" countries are not as well governed as those that are far less "diverse." This is because competing ethnic groups expend too much of their energy, and their country's resources, trying to compete with (or even exterminate) other groups for political and economic shares. "As ethnic heterogeneity increases, governments become more interventionist and less efficient, and the quality of public goods falls," the authors write.

They also looked at each country's legal traditions. Countries that have laws based on the Napoleonic Code are most often badly governed, while those still influenced by the English common law are better governed. The Napoleonic civil code was designed to protect state interests over those of the individual. By contrast, the English common law protected individuals' rights, especially property rights, from the vagaries of the state. This protection, in turn, gave encouragement to, and insured a higher degree of security for, political freedom and economic growth.

The Quality of Government is an excellent introduction to comparative politics around the globe. An extensive bibliography and tables providing the variables they worked with is included. As the authors forthrightly state in their conclusion,

> *The data show clearly that, using these measures of performance, the quality of governments varies systematically across countries. Rich nations have better governments than poor ones. Ethnolinguistically homogeneous countries have better governments than the heterogeneous ones. Common law countries have better governments than French civil law or socialist law countries. Predominantly Protestant countries have better governments than either predominantly Catholic or predominantly Muslim countries. These results tend to be consistent across the many measures of government performance we use.*

All of this is important for those concerned with immigration policy in the United States and other Western countries. Current policies encourage more and more "diversity." But nowhere does the evidence suggest that this will lead to more freedom and economic health. Quite the reverse.

Furthermore, those in the immigration reform movement who self-righteously assert that they are "only concerned with numbers," should acquaint themselves with this study and some of the works, cited in the bibliography, upon which it is based. As I wrote in *National Review* fifteen years ago in an exchange with a student of Julian Simon, people are not interchangeable economic growth blobs. They are carriers of, and contributors to, culture. And culture does matter! We need to remember such an important factor if "America" is not to become a mere geographic expression for a territory largely populated by the descendants of today's Third World.

TSC

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Poverty Extended

Disruptive policies of international money managers

Book Review by Ted Wheelwright

Not many books distill their essence in the first few pages — this one does. There is a strong case for publishing the first dozen pages as a pamphlet for the edification of future students, some of whom will have to clean up the mess created by global capitalism. In these pages Chossudovsky, who is Professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa, tells us in clear, concise language that "the present crisis is far more complex than that of the interwar period, its social consequences and geo-political implications are far-reaching (p.15)."

What has emerged is "a new interventionist framework," leading to the dismantling of state institutions, the tearing down of economic borders, and the impoverishment of millions of people." The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization are in effect "regulatory bodies" responding to dominant economic and financial interests. This new "international bureaucracy is increasingly able to supervise national economies through the deliberate manipulation of market forces (p.16)."

International corporations can only expand by undermining the domestic productive base of developing countries. "Emerging markets" are opened up for the global corporation by the fragmentation and destruction of the domestic economy, credit is deregulated, and state property and land are taken over by international capital. "Large capital destroys small capital in all its forms (p.17)."

A new global financial environment has developed as corporate mergers paved the way for a new generation of "money managers," removed from entrepreneurial functions in the real economy. Their activities include speculative transactions of all kinds. The daily turnover of foreign exchange transactions exceeds one trillion dollars per day, of which only 15 percent corresponds to actual trade and capital flows. Criminal Mafiosi have expanded their role in international banking.

The Globalization of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms
by Michel Chossudovsky
London and New York: Zed Books
256 pages, price $59.95

The author considers that "the global financial system has reached a dangerous crossroads: at the very heart of the economic crisis are the markets for public debt where hundreds of billions of dollars of government bonds and treasury bills are transacted on a daily basis (p.21)." Since the early 1980s large amounts of the debt of large corporations have been transformed into public debt. This process of debt conversion is a central feature of the crisis, and has triggered the development of a highly regressive tax system.

New banking technologies have spurred the flight of profits to offshore banking havens. A British colony in the Caribbean, the Cayman Islands, is now the fifth largest banking center in the world, in terms of deposits, most of which are by Shell corporations.

Central banks have been modified to meet the demands of financial markets, which means that national treasuries are "increasingly at the mercy of private commercial creditors (p.23)." Hence monetary policy no longer exists as a means of state intervention. Consequently, "powerful financial actors have the ability not only of creating and moving money without impediment, but also of manipulating

Professor Ted Wheelwright *is founder of the Transnational Corporations Research Project in the Department of Geosciences, University of Sydney, Australia. His latest book, co-authored with Ken Buckley, is* False Paradise: Australian Capitalism Revisited, 1915-1955, *Oxford University Press.*

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interest rates and precipitating the decline of major currencies (p.24)." The supply of money, which regulates the mobilization of human and material resources, the author informs us, is now in the hands of private creditors, who can act to paralyze entire economies, as has happened in the USSR since 1992.

The links between the financial establishment in the U.S. and top echelons in the Treasury are documented:

"While financiers are involved in politics, politicians have increasingly acquired a financial stake in the business community (p.25)." Consequently, it is argued that in the West the state system is in crisis as a result of "its ambivalent relationship to private economic and financial concerns (p.25)," and the practice of democracy has become a ritual. The global market system marks the demise of the "national economy," and is very difficult to reform. Hence, the globalization of the struggle is fundamental, "requiring a degree of solidarity and internationalism unprecedented in world history (p.27)."

These central arguments are set out in the first third of the book, the remainder is taken up with a detailed analysis of concrete cases in Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and the former Soviet Union. This provides an ideal blend of theory and practice. As Noam Chomsky remarks on the back cover: "The understanding that his inquiry provides is an important step toward the dedicated struggle that will be needed to reverse these developments." TSC

Against the Managerial Therapeutic Regime

Book Review by Mark Wegierski

Professor Paul Edward Gottfried, who teaches at Elizabethtown College, Pennsylvania, is a longstanding veteran of the raging political and culture wars in America. His other books include, *Conservative Millenarians: The Romantic Experience in Bavaria* (1979), a work which attests to his early-found métier in complex intellectual history; *The Search for Historical Meaning: Hegel and the Postwar American Right* (1986), a work which combines his interests in Continental European political theory and American right-wing politics; the two editions of *The Conservative Movement* (1988 and 1993) on postwar American conservatism; as well as *Carl Schmitt: Politics and Theory* (1990), a highly nuanced work about the controversial yet often acute German right-wing theorist. Paul Gottfried is today probably the leading political theorist of the so-called "paleoconservative" grouping (in fact, he is credited with coining that term), and could be called one of the leading "white generals" in the American "counterrevolution." He has been a senior editor of *The World & I*, and is currently a senior editor at *Telos*, a scholarly journal of eclectic political criticism, and a contri-buting editor to *Humanitas* as well as *Chronicles*. He is also editor-in-chief of *This World*. *After Liberalism*, which has been published by Princeton University Press as the lead title in a major new series, "New Forum Books," presenting original scholarship focusing on the juncture of culture, law and politics.

After Liberalism: Mass Democracy in the Managerial State
by Paul Edward Gottfried
Princeton, NJ:
Princeton University Press
200 pages, $27.95

Referencing the 1996 American election, the author relates it to the main concepts discussed in the work – notably the high degree of success and

***Mark Wegierski** is a Toronto-based writer and historian. He is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract.

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seeming inevitability of managerial ideology today. As long as the current-day regime is able to guarantee material prosperity and all the attractions of consumerism, "caring," and sexual "free expression," it will be largely unchallengeable. Gottfried notes that capitalist economic expansion and the expansion of the welfare state have, for the last few decades, occurred at the same time.

The main idea of this book is that current-day Western societies (and especially America) have moved in a postliberal and postdemocratic direction. They have moved in the direction of a "regime" of public administration that has little in common with nineteenth-century liberalism.

Chapter One, "In Search of a Liberal Essence" moves through various historical and contemporary definitions of "liberalism," looking at the "semantic problem" of liberalism, and examining its "continuities and discontinuities." The conclusion is that the term "liberalism" cannot be truly applied to most current-day thinking claiming that term.

Professor Gottfried then sets out to disentangle the meanings of "Liberalism vs. Democracy." Anti-democratic liberals (such as the nineteenth-century French statesman Francois Guizot), liberals who wished to cooperate with nationalist democracy (such as the early-twentieth-century Vilfredo Pareto), and those liberals who advanced along the main lines of progress (such as John Stuart Mill) are looked at. What emerged in the twentieth century is characterized as "the intertwining of mass democracy and public administration."

In "Public Administration and Liberal Democracy" Gottfried looks at the processes of "building the welfare state" through "the politics of socialization," leading to the "liberal democratic model" — which is neither truly liberal nor democratic.

The author then examines the administrative "new class" and its values. "Pluralism" — as defined by the New Class — is one of the central values of the late modern regime. It is the justification for the "war against dissent" — the categorizing of persons who think differently from the New Class as bigots or hatemongers, who have to receive either "sensitivity-training" or be silenced by social ostracism, professional marginalization, substantial fines, or even jail-terms. "Pluralism" and other approaches (such as the pretense to "scientific objectivity" and the deriding of metaphysics and religion) are simply seen as tropes for the attempt to exclude and eradicate "illiberal" views in society. In the process of its triumph in most Western societies, the managerial-therapeutic regime is tending in the direction of "a world democratic empire" — since the very existence of "illiberal" regimes is seen as a challenge to the proclaimed "universality" of "liberal democratic values."

He considers "the populist alternative" to the managerial-therapeutic regime, which ironically arises partly as a result of the dynamics of mass-democracy. This is probably the best brief analysis available in English of such tendencies as Le Pen's *Front National*, the Italian *Lega Nord*, and the Continental European "postmodern Right" (including the *Nouvelle Ecole* led by Alain de Benoist).

Gottfried argues that immigration policy is a major instrument, being used to expand the power of the managerial state. Massive, dissimilar immigration is one of the most salient aspects of the managerial regime. Traditional identities are broken down even further, and enthusiastic supporters and clients of the welfare-state are gained. However, excessive immigration creates frictions that may challenge the regime. The majority population is alienated from offering benefits to those with whom they have nothing in common; Gottfried rightly notes that some sense of commonality is highly important to the welfare state. It is only natural to resist offering outright "gifts" to those with whom we have nothing in common — the notion of "universal humanity" is not satisfactory enough for most people. Perhaps there is some hope that opposition to immigration may serve as a wedge to undermine the managerial regime. On the other hand, the inflow of immigration may be massive enough that groups from outside the West with "illiberal" outlooks may come to be a majority, and at some point put an end to managerial "pluralism" and "relativism." However, this would almost certainly mean the relegation of white Westerners to the status of pariahs in what were once their own societies.

Gottfried perhaps underplays what is likely to be

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the most tragic aspect of the managerial regime, and the greatest danger to the life and future of European societies — this mass, dissimilar immigration. First of all, European-descended Americans (and Canadians) are robbed of their traditional identities, so they see nothing worthwhile to preserve and fight for in terms of the continued existence of their own societies. Indeed, the managerial view seems to be that European nation-states are worthwhile mostly as receptacles for the continued existence and flourishing of those various precious minority cultures. (The visible minority population of Toronto, Canada's largest city, has gone from less than 3 percent in 1961, to over 50 percent today. Predictably, in public one is only allowed to *celebrate* this shift to diversity, and to deliberate on how the needs of minorities can be better addressed by government and society.) These demographic shifts are perhaps the most radical, indelible kinds of change that can be experienced by any society.

Theoretically speaking, there could always be the chance of a cultural, intellectual, moral, or religious restoration of a society after the collapse of the ruling managerial ideology (if that society had retained its native majority), but these drastic kinds of population changes become, after a certain point, utterly irreversible. Ironically, the effects of old-fashioned social democracy on society (concerned with waging the class-struggle on behalf of the native working classes), are comparatively trivial. The managerial regime appears to be in the process of practically destroying most Western societies, in the space of no more than a century (beginning with the 1950s). What is especially frightening today is how utterly beholden most Western societies are to the values of the New Class, and how very little real opposition is actually being raised. On virtually every important front one can think of — demographic, as well as cultural, intellectual, moral, and religious — Western traditionalism has been in pell-mell retreat for decades. Indeed, Western societies might be described as in the process of being progressively accelerated to oblivion.

After Liberalism ends on a rather somber note, where the varieties of opposition to the managerial-therapeutic regime are not given much hope. The religious Right and the "archaic Right" are seen as incapable of mounting a challenge: the former is seen as largely embracing the administrative state in the forlorn hope it will promote "family values" — while the latter is seen as having simply abandoned politics in favor of theological or literary forms of argument. Indeed, among the strengths of Gottfried's book is the fact that it does not fall into archaic modes of argumentation. The intellectual Left is also seen as not offering much hope. "Any serious appraisal of the managerial regime must consider first and foremost the extent of its control — and the relative powerlessness of its critics" (p. 141).

One major criticism of the book could be that it unduly narrows the conservative and traditionalist critique of late modernity by focusing too much on early liberalism and the *bourgeois* spirit, thus largely excluding such tendencies as traditionalist Catholicism, organic nationalism, and such figures as Nietzsche and the anticapitalist "politics of cultural despair." While the defense of classical liberalism and the bourgeois spirit might appear especially congenial in an Anglo-American context, organic and Nietzschean outlooks might be more evocative in Continental Europe, and might also constitute far deeper and more thoroughgoing types of critique. Indeed, perhaps all that can be achieved in late modernity is the maintenance of small but powerful niches of sharp political criticism — although one could also legitimately ask, to what final end? Some might argue that the conservative critique in late modernity should be as cultural, "fanciful," creative-nihilist, and "utopian" as possible, dreaming of "new modes and new orders" — and focusing around Romanticism and Romantic nationalism.

After Liberalism is a very fine work, and it may indeed be the kind of book of analysis that George Orwell would have written, had he lived longer. As one reads the book, one can imagine one is reading our own world's equivalent of Emmanuel Goldstein's *Theory and Practice of Oligarchic Collectivism*. Gottfried's highly theoretical and often sharply-phrased book could also be described as having a "right-wing Marxist" flavor to it. Indeed, it is the kind of critical book around which many future debates and discussions might well be structured. TSC

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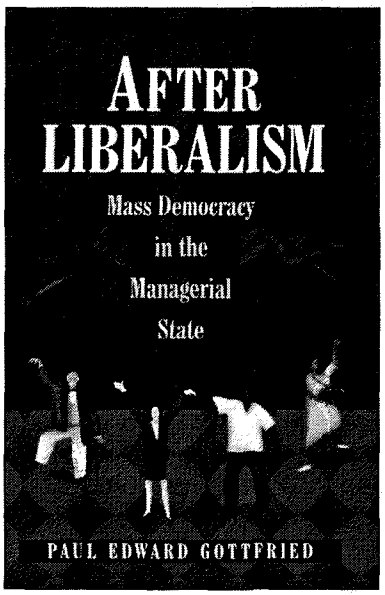
After Liberalism

Mass Democracy in the Managerial State

Paul Gottfried



"*After Liberalism* is no angry screed, but a dense, probing work full of insight from the author's seeming encyclopedic knowledge of Western thought."
—*World*

"The central fact of the nineteenth century was the emergence of the working class. The central fact of the twentieth century is the emergence of a managerial 'New Class' elite, reshaping all modern democracies in its own interest. Gottfried's is a gold-standard analysis of this extraordinary phenomenon, heavily encrusted with sparkling jewels of intellectual history."
—Peter Brimelow, Senior Editor, *Forbes Magazine*

"This brilliant and disquieting book should reshape current debates and be essential reading for all who seek to understand them."
—Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, author of *Feminism Without Illusion*

In this trenchant challenge to social engineering, Paul Gottfried analyzes a patricide: the slaying of nineteenth-century liberalism by the managerial state.

Throughout the western world, increasingly uprooted populations unthinkingly accept centralized controls in exchange for a variety of entitlements. In their frightening passivity, Gottfried locates the quandary for traditionalist and populist adversaries of the welfare state. How can opponents of administrative elites show the public that those who provide, however ineptly, for their material needs are the enemies of democratic self-rule and of independent decision making in family life?

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